A DISCOURSE OF THE RELIGION Anciently professed by the Iriſh and Britiſh,

By the moſt Reverend and Learned

JAMES USHER,

late Lord Arch-Biſhop of *Ardmagh*, and Primate of all *Ireland*.

The Fourth Edition Corrected and Augmented from a Copy left under the Authors own hand.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 1870 BRADSHAW COLL.

LONDON,

Printed for *Benjamin Tooke*, at the *Ship* in St. *Pauls Church-Yard*, MDCLXXXVII.

A DISCOURSE OF THE RELIGION Anciently profeſſed by the Iriſh and Britiſh.

07-1504

By the moſt Reverend Father in God

JAMES USHER,

Lord Arch-Biſhop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland.

The Fourth Edition Corrected and Augmented from a Copy left under the Authors own hand.

LONDON,

Printed for Dorman Newman at the Sign of the Kings Arms in the Poultry over against the Stocks-Market. MDCLXXXVII.

TO

My very much Honoured Friend,

Sir CHRISTOPHER SIBTHORP, Knight,

One of his Majesties JUSTICES of his Court of

CHIEF PLACE

IN

IRELAND.

WORTHY SIR,

I Confess, I somewhat incline to be of your Mind, that if unto the Authorities drawn out of Scriptures and Fathers (which are common to us with others) a true Discovery were added of that Religion which anciently was professed in this Kingdom, it might prove a special Motive to induce my poor Country-men, to consider a little better of the old and true Way from whence they have hitherto been misled. Yet on the one side, that saying in the

[a] *Luke* 16.31. Gospel runneth much in my mind; [a] *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be perswaded, though one rose from the Dead:* and on the other, that heavy Judgment mentioned by the Apostle, [b] *because they received not the love of the Truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong Delusion, that they should believe lyes.* The woful Experience whereof, we may see daily before our Eyes in this poor Nation: where, such as are slow of heart to believe the saving Truth of God, delivered by the Prophets and Apostles, do with all Greediness imbrace, and with a most strange kind of Credulity entertain those lying Legends, wherewith their Monks and Friars in these latter days have polluted the Religion and Lives of our ancient Saints.

[b] 2 *Thess.* 2.10, 11.

I do not deny but that in this Country, as well as in others, Corruptions did creep in by little and little, before the Devil was let loose to procure that Seduction which prevailed so generally in these last times: but as far as I can collect by such Records of the former Ages as have come unto my hands (either *manuscript* or *printed*) the Religion professed by the ancient Bishops, Priests, Monks,

and other Christians in this land, was for substance the very same with that which now by publick Authority is maintained therein, against the forrain Doctrine brought in thither in latter times by the Bishop of *Rome's* Followers. I speak of the more substantial points of Doctrine, that are in controversie betwixt the Church of *Rome* and us at this day; by which only we must judge, whether of both sides hath departed from the Religion of our Ancestors: not of matters of inferiour note, much less of Ceremonies, and such other things as appertain to the Discipline, rather than to the Doctrine of the Church.

And whereas it is known unto the Learned, that the name of *Scoti* in those elder times (whereof we treat) was common to the inhabitants of the *greater* and the *lesser Scotland* (for so heretofore they have been distinguished) that is to say, of *Ireland*, and the famous Colony deduced from thence into *Albania*: I will not follow the example of those, that have of late laboured to make Dissension betwixt the Daughter and the Mother, but account of them both, as of the same people.

Tuos Rutulusve fuat, nullo discrimine habebo.

The Religion doubtless received by both, was

was the self-same; and differed little or nothing from that which was maintained by their neighbours the *Britons*: as by comparing the Evidences that remain, both of the one Nation and of the other, in the ensuing discourse more fully shall appear.

The chief Heads treated of in this Discourse, are these.

I. Of the holy Scriptures. pag. 1.

II. Of Predestination, Grace, Free-will, Works, Justification and Sanctification. pag. 9.

III. Of Purgatory, and Prayer for the Dead, pag. 16.

IIII. Of the Worship of God, the publick form of Liturgy, the Sacrifice, and Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. pag. 23.

V. Of Chrisme, Sacramental Confession, Penance, Absolution, Marriage, Divorces, and single life in the Clergy. pag. 34.

VI. Of the Discipline of our ancient Monks; and abstinence from Meats. pag. 41.

VII. Of the Church and various state thereof, especially in the days of Antichrist: of Miracles also, and of the Head of the Church. pag. 50.

VIII. Of the Popes spiritual Jurisdiction, and how little footing it had gotten at first within these parts. pag. 57.

IX. *Of the Controversie which the Britons, Picts, and Irish maintained against the Church of Rome, touching the Celebration of Easter.* pag. 69.

X. *Of the height that the Opposition betwixt the Romane party, and that of the Brittish and the Scottish grew unto; and the Abatement thereof in time; and how the Doctors of the Scottish and Irish side have been ever accounted most eminent Men in the Catholick Church, notwithstanding their dis-union from the Bishop of Rome.* pag. 78.

XI. *Of the temporal Power, which the Popes followers would directly intitle him unto over the Kingdom of Ireland; together with the indirect power which he challengeth in absolving Subjects from the obedience, which they owe to their temporal Governours.* pag. 87.

OF

OF THE

RELIGION PROFESSED BY THE Ancient Iriſh.

CHAP. I.

Of the Holy Scripture.

TWo excellent Rules doth St. *Paul* preſcribe unto Chriſtians for their direction in the ways of God: the one, that they [a] *be not unwiſe, but underſtanding what the will of God is*; the other, that they [b] *be not more wiſe than behoveth to be wiſe, but be wiſe unto ſobriety.* And that we might know the Limits, within which this Wiſdom and Sobriety ſhould be bounded; he elſewhere declareth, that not to be more wiſe than is fitting, is [c] *not to be wiſe above that which is written.* Hereupon *Sedulius* (one of the moſt ancient Writers that remaineth of this Country birth) delivereth this for the meaning of the former rule; [d] *Search the Law, in which the will of God is contained*: and this for the latter; [e] *He would be more wiſe*

[a] Ephes. 5. 17.

[b] Rom. 12. 1. Μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν.

[c] 1 Cor. 4. 6. Μὴ ὑπὲρ ἃ γέγραπται φρονεῖν.

[d] Scrutamini legem, in quâ voluntas ejus continetur. *Sedul. in Ephiſ.* 5. [e] Plus vult ſapere, qui illa ſcrutatur quæ Lex non dicit. *Id. in Rom.* 12.

than is meet, *who searcheth those things that the Law doth not speak of.* Unto whom we will adjoyn *Claudius* another famous Divine, (counted one of the Founders of the University of *Paris*) who for the illustration of the former, affirmeth that men [f] *therefore err, because they know not the Scriptures; and because they are ignorant of the Scriptures, they consequently know not Christ, who is the Power of God, and the Wisdome of God:* and for the clearing of the latter, bringeth in that known Canon of St. *Hierome*; [g] *This, because it hath not Authority from the Scriptures, is with the same facility contemned, wherewith it is avowed.*

f Propterea errant, quia Scripturas nesciunt: & quia Scripturas ignorant, consequenter nesciunt virtutem Dei, hoc est, Christum, qui est Dei virtus & Dei sapientia. *Claud. in Matth. lib.* 3. Habetur M. S. *Romæ* in Bibliothecâ *Vallicellanâ*; & *Cantabrigiæ*, in Bibliothec. Colleg. *Benedict.* & Aulæ *Pembrochianæ*. g Hoc, quia de Scripturis non habet authoritatem, eâdem facilitate contemnitur quâ probatur. *Id. ibid.*

Neither was the practice of our Ancestors herein different from their judgment. For as *Bede* touching the latter, recordeth of the successors of *Colum kill*, the great Saint of our Country; that they [h] *observed only those works of Piety and Chastity, which they could learn in the Prophetical, Evangelical, and Apostolical Writings:* So for the former, he especially noteth of one of the principal of them, to wit, Bishop *Aidan*; that [i] *all such as went in his company whether they were of the Clergy, or of the Laity, were tyed to exercise themselves, either in the reading of Scriptures, or in the learning of Psalms.* And long before their time, it was the observation which St. *Chrysostome* made of both these Islands: that [k] *although thou didst go unto the Ocean, and those Brittish Isles, although thou didst sail to the Euxin Sea, although thou didst go unto the Southern quarters; thou shouldest hear ALL men every where discoursing matters of the SCRIPTURE, with another Voice indeed, but not with another Faith, and with a different Tongue, but with an according Judgment.* Which is in effect the same with

h Tantùm ea quæ in Propheticis, Evangelicis & Apostolicis literis discere poterant, pietatis & castitatis opera diligenter observantes. *Bed. lib.* 3. *histor. Ecclesiast. cap.* 4.

i In tantum autem vita illius à nostri temporis segnitia distabat; ut omnes qui cum eo incedebant, sive adtonsi, sive laici, meditari deberent, id est, aut legendis Scripturis, aut Psalmis discendis operam dare. *Id. ibid. cap.* 5. k Κἂν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀπέλθῃς, κἂν πρὸς τὰς Βρεταννικὰς νήσους ἐκείνας κἂν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πλεύσῃς πάντων κἂν πρὸς τὰ νότια ἀπέλθῃς μέρη. πάντων ἀκούσῃ πανταχοῦ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς φιλοσοφούντων, φωνῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ, πίστει δὲ οὐκ καὶ ἑτέρᾳ γλώσσῃ μὲν διαφόρῳ, διανοίᾳ δὲ συμφώνῳ. Chrysost. in serm. de utilitate lictionis Scripturæ, tom. 8. edit. Savil pag. 111.

that

that which venerable *Bede* pronounceth of the Iſland of *Brittain*, in his own days, that [l] *in the language of five Nations it did ſearch and confeſs one and the ſame knowledge of the higheſt truth, and of the true ſublimity; to wit, of the Engliſh, the Brittons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins.* Which laſt although he affirmeth *by the meditation of the Scriptures to have become common to all the reſt*: Yet the *Community* of that one among the Learned, did not take away the *Property* of the other four among the vulgar, but that ſuch as underſtood not the Latin, might yet in their own Mother tongue have thoſe Scriptures, wherein they might *ſearch the knowledge of the higheſt Truth, and of the true Sublimity.* Even as at this day in the reformed Churches, the ſame Latin tongue is common to all the learned in the Meditation and Expoſition of the Scriptures; and yet the common people for all that, do in their own vulgar tongues * *ſearch the Scriptures, becauſe in them they think to have eternal Life.* For as by us now, ſo by our Forefathers then, the [m] *continual meditation of the Scriptures*, was held to give ſpecial vigour and *vegetation to the Soul* (as we read in the Book attributed unto St. *Patrick, of the abuſes of the world*:) and the holy documents delivered therein, were eſteemed by Chriſtians as their chief Riches; according to that of *Columbanus*,

[n] *Sint tibi divitiæ, divina dogmata legis.*

In which heavenly Riches our ancient *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* did thrive ſo well, that many worthy Perſonages in forrain parts were content to undergo a voluntary Exile from their own Country; that they might more freely traffick here for ſo excellent a Commodity. And by this means *Alfrid* King of *Northumberland*, purchaſed the reputation of [o] *a man moſt learned in the Scriptures.*

Scottorum qui tum verſatus incola terris,
Cœleſtem intento ſpirabat corde ſophiam.
Nam patriæ fines & dulcia liquerat arva,
Sedulus ut Domini myſteria diſceret exul.

as *Bede* writeth of him, in his Poem of the life of our Countryman St. *Cuthbert*.

l Quinque gentium linguis unam eandemque ſummæ veritatis & veræ ſublimitatis ſcientiam ſcrutatur & confitetur; Anglorum videlicet, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, & Latinorum, quæ meditatione Scripturarum cæteris omnibus eſt facta communis. *Bed. lib. 1. Hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 1.*

* *John 5. 39.*

m Bonis ſemper moribus delectatur & conſentit; & aſſiduis Scripturarum meditationibus & eloquiis animam vegetat. *Patric. de abuſionibus ſæculi, cap. 5. de Pudicitia.*

n *Columban. in Monaſtichis, & in epiſtola ad Hunaldum.*

o Succeſſit Ecgfrido in regnum Alfrit, vir in Scripturis doctiſſimus *Bed. lib. 4. hiſt. cap. 26.*

So when we read in the same *Beda* of [p] *Fursæus*, and in another ancient Author of [q] *Kilianus*, that *from the time of their very Child-hood*, they had a Care to learn the Holy Scriptures: it may easily be collected, that in those days it was not thought a thing unfit, that even Children should give themselves unto the study of the Bible. Wherein how greatly some of them did profit in those tender Years, may appear by that which *Bonifacius*, the first Archbishop of *Mentz*, relateth of *Livinus* (who was trained up in his youth by *Benignus* in [r] the singing of *David's* Psalms, and the reading of the Holy Gospels, and other divine Exercises) and *Jonas* of *Columbanus*; in whose [s] *Breast the Treasures of the Holy Scriptures were so laid up, that within the compass of his youthful Years he set forth an elegant Exposition of the Book of the Psalms.* By whose industry likewise afterward, the study of God's Word was so propagated; that in the Monasteries which were founded [t] *according to his Rule* beyond the Seas, not the Men only, but the Religious Women also also did carefully attend the same, that through Patience and Comfort of the Scriptures they might have hope. See for this, the Practice of the Virgin [u] *Birthildis* lying upon her Death-Bed; reported by the same *Jonas*, or whosoever else was the Author of the Life of *Burgundofora*.

[p] Ab ipso tempore pueritiæ suæ curam non modicam lectionibus sacris, simul & monasticis exhibebat disciplinis. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 19. Ab infantiâ sacris literis & monasticis disciplinis eruditus.* Johannes de Tinmouth (*& ex eo Ja. Capgrav.*) in vita Fursei.

[q] A puerili ætate magnum habet studium sacras discere literas. *Tom. 4. Antiq. lect. Henr. Canis. pag.* 642.

[r] Davidicis Psalmorum melodiis, & sanctorum Evangeliorum melliflui lectionibus atque cæteris divinis exercitationibus. *Bonifac. in vitâ Livini.*

[s] Tantum in ejus pectore divinarum thesauri Scripturarum condidit tenebantur; ut intra adolescentiæ ætatem decentus, Psalmorum librum elimato sermone exponeret. *Jonas in vitâ Columbani, cap. 2.*

[t] B. Burgundofora monasterium quod Fuoriacas appellatur, *&c.* secundùm regulam S. Columbani instituit. *Id. in vitâ Burgundof.*

[u] Cùm jam in extremis posita posceret per successiones noctium lumen coram se accendi, & sacræ lectionis præconia ante se legi, *&c. Id. ibid.*

As for the *Edition* of the Scriptures used in these parts at those times: the *Latin* Translation was so received into common use among the learned, that the principal Authority was still reserved to the Original Fountains. Therefore doth *Sedulius* in the Old Testament commend unto us [x] *the Hebrew Verity* (for so with St. *Hierome* doth he stile it:) and in the New correct oftentimes the vulgar Latin, according to the truth of the *Greek* Copies. For Example: in 1 *Cor.* 7. 34. he readeth as we do, *There is difference between a Wife and a Virgin*; and not as the Rhemists have translated it out of the Latin, Rom. 12. 19.

[x] Hebraicam veritatem. *Sedul. in Galat. 3. & Hebr. 7.*

He

He readeth, *Non vosmetipsos vindicantes*, not avenging your selves: where the vulgar Latine hath corruptly, *Non vosmetipsos defendentes*, not defending your selves. *Rom.* 3. 4. where the Rhemists translate according to the Latin, *God is true*: he sheweth that in the Greek Copies it is found, *Let God be True*, or, *let God be made True*. Rom. 15. 17. he noteth that the Latin Books have put *Glory* for *Gloriation*. Galat. 1. 16. where the Rhemists have according to the Latin, *I condescended not to Flesh and Blood*: he saith, that in *Græco melius habet* (for so must his word be here corrected out of St. *Hierom*, whom he followeth) the Greek hath it better, *I conferred not*. Rom. 8. 3. where the Rhemists say of God, according to the Latin translation, *that of sin* he *damned Sin in the flesh*: *Sedulius* affirmeth, thrt *verius habetur apud Græcos*, it is *more truly* expressed in the Greek Books; that *for Sin* he *damned Sin, in the Flesh*. Lastly, where the Rhemists translate after their Latin Copy, Gal. 5. 9. *A little leaven corrupteth the whole paste*: he saith it should be, *leaveneth*, (as we have it) and y not *corrupteth*, as it is *ill* read in the Latin Books. So where they translate by the same Authority, Galat. 6. 1. *Instruct such an one in the Spirit of Lenity*: z *Claudius*, following St. *Hierom*, affirmeth that it is better in the Greek, *Restore* or *Perfect him*. And where they make St. *Peter* say, Mat. 16. 22. *Lord, be it far from thee*: a he noteth, that it is *better* in the Greek; *Lord favour thy self*.

y Non, ut male in Latinis codicibus, corrumpit. *Sedul. in Gal.* 5.

z Instruat; sive, ut melius habetur in Græco, perficiat in spiritu lenitatis. *Claud. in Gal.* 6.

a Absit à te Domine: vel ut melius habetur in Græco; Propitius esto tibi, Domine. *Id. lib.* 2. *comment. in Matth.*

In the old Testament I observe, that our Writers do more usually follow the Translation taken out of the *Septuagint* than the *Vulgar Latine*, which is now received in the Church of *Rome*. So, for Example, where the Vulgar Latin hath *Esay* 32. 4. b *The tongue of the stammerers* (or *mafflers*, as the Doway Translation would have it englished) *shall speak readily and plainly*: in the *Confession* of St. *Patrick*, c we find it laid down more agreeably to the d Greek Lection: *The stammering Tongues shall swiftly learn to speak Peace*. And in his Epistle to *Coroticus* or *Cereticus*; e Ma-

b Lingua balborum velociter loquetur & planè.

c Linguæ balbutientes velociter discent loqui pacem.

d [illegible] λαλεῖν εἰρήνην.

e Exultabitis sicut vituli ex vinculis resoluti. Græc. [illegible] ἀνειμένα.

lach.

lach. 4. 2. f *You shall dance as Calves loosed out of Bands*: where our common Latin hath; *You shall leap as Calves of the herd.* And *Job* 20. 15, 16. g *The riches which he shall gather unjustly shall be vomited out of his Belly, the Angel of Death draweth him. He shall be mulcted with the Wrath of Dragons: the Tongue of the Serpent shall kill him.* Where the Vulgar Latine readeth: h *The riches, which he hath devoured, he shall vomit out, and God shall draw them forth out of his Belly. He shall suck the Head of Asps, and the Vipers Tongue shall kill him.* The same course is likewise observed by *Sedulius* in his Citations. But *Gildas* the Briton in some Books, (as *Deuteronomy*, *Esay*, and *Jeremy*, for Example) useth to follow the Vulgar Latine translated out of the Hebrew; in others (as the Books of *Chronicles*, *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Ezekiel*, and the small *Prophets*) the elder Latin translated out of the Greek, as also long after him his Countryman * *Nennius*, in reckoning the years of the Age of the World, followeth the LXX. and *Asser* alledgeth the Text, Genes. 4. 7. i *If thou offer aright, and dost not divide aright, thou sinnest*; according to the k Greek reading: whereas the Vulgar Latine hath it; l *If thou do well, shalt thou not receive again? but if thou doest ill, shall not thy sin forthwith be present at the door?*

f Salietis sicut vituli de armento.

g Divitiæ quas congregabit injustè, evomentur de ventre ejus, trahit illum angelus mortis. Irâ draconum mulctabitur: interficiet illum lingua colubri. Græc. Πλοῦτος ἄδικος συναγόμενος ἐξεμεθήσεται, ἐξ οἰκίας αὐτοῦ ἐξελκύσει αὐτὸν ἄγγελος. Θυμὸν δὲ δρακόντων θηλάσειεν, ἀνέλοι δὲ αὐτὸν γλῶσσα ὄφεως.

h Divitias quas devoravit evomet, & de ventre illius extrahet eas Deus. Caput aspidum suget, & occidet eam lingua viperæ. * *Nenn. Histor. Briton. cap.* 1. i Si rectè offeras, rectè autem non dividas, peccas. *Asser. Menervens. de gestis Ælfredi R.* k Οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες; l Nonne si benè egeris, recipies? sin autem malè, statim in foribus peccatum aderit?

Of the Psalter there are extant four or five Latin translations out of the *Greek*, (namely, the old *Italian*, the *Gallican*, the *Romane*, the *Gothick*, and that of *Millayne*:) and one out of the *Hebrew*, composed by St. *Hierom*: which though it be now excluded out of the Body of the Bible, and the *Gallican* admitted in the Room thereof; yet in some * Manuscript Copies it still retaineth his ancient place; three whereof I have seen my self in Cambridge; one in Trinity, another in Benet, and the third in Jesus Colledge Library, where this Translation out of the Hebrew, and not the Vulgar out of the Greek,

* Gothicis nostrorum libris antiquissimis adjuti sumus: in quibus magis sincera sacrorum librorum versio ab Hieronymo facta conservatur, argumento præter alia, ejus etiam in Psalmos interpretationem iis libris contineri, pro quâ nostri codices Septuaginta interpretum versionem in illos mutârunt. *Jo. Marian. Præfat. Scholior. in Biblia, ad Card. Bellarmin.*

is

is inſerted into the Context of the Bible. In the Citations of *Gildas*, and the Confeſſion of Saint *Patrick*, I obſerve that the *Roman* Pſalter is followed, rather than the *Gallican*: in the quotations of *Sedulius*, on the other ſide, the *Gallican* rather than the *Roman*, *Claudius* ſpeaking of a Text in the 118th. (or as he accounteth it, the 117th.) [m] Pſalm, ſaith, that where the LXX. Interpreters did tranſlate it, *O Lord ſave me*, it was written in the Hebrew, *Anna Adonai Oſanna*: *which our Interpreter Hierom* (ſaith he) *more diligently explaining*, tranſlated thus; *I beſeech thee, O Lord ſave I beſeech thee.* Before this Tranſlation of St. *Hierom*, [n] I have ſeen an Epigram prefixed by *Ricemarch* the Briton; who by *Caradoc* of *Lhancarpan* [o] is commended for *the Godlieſt, Wiſeſt, and greateſt Clerk that had been in* Wales *many years before* his time, his Father *Sulgen Biſhop of St* Davids only excepted, *who had brought him up, and a great number of learned Diſciples.* He having in this Epigram ſaid of thoſe who tranſlated the Pſalter out of Greek, that they did *darken the Hebrew Rays with their Latin Cloud*: addeth of St. *Hierom*, that being *repleniſhed with the Hebrew Fountain, he did more clearly and briefly diſcover the Truth*; as drawing it out of the *firſt Veſſel* immediately, and not taking it at the *ſecond hand.* To this purpoſe thus expreſſeth he himſelf,

Ebræis nablum cuſtodit littera ſignis:
Pro captu quam quiſque ſuo ſermone Latino
Edidit, innumeros Linguâ variante libellos;
Ebraumq; jubar ſuffuſcat nube Latinâ.
Nam repefacta ferum dant tertia labra ſaporem,
Sed ſacer Hieronymus, Ebræo fonte repletus,
Lucidius nudat verum, breviuſque miniſtrat.
Namque ſecunda creat, nam tertia vaſcula vitat.

Now for thoſe Books annexed to the Old Teſtament, which St. *Hierom* calleth *Apocryphal*, others *Eccleſiaſtical*: true it is, that our Iriſh and Britiſh Writers ſome of them are alledged as parcels of Scripture, and Prophetical Writings; thoſe eſpecially that

m *In Pſalmo 117. ubi LXX. interpres tranſtulerunt,* O Domine ſalvum me fac. *in Hebræo ſcriptum eſt,* Anna Adonai Oſanna: *quod interpres noſter Hieronymus diligentiùs inſpiciens ita tranſtulit*; Obſecro Domine, ſalva obſecro. *Claud. Scot. in Matth. lib. 3.*

n *M. S. in Bibliothecâ eruditiſſimi antiſtitis D. Gulielmi Bedelli, Kilmorenſis & Ardachadenſis apud nos Epiſcopi.*

o *Caradoc. in Chronico Cambriæ, circa annum* 1099. *ad quem in aliis etiam Annalibus Britannicis M. S. S. annotatum reperi.* Sub hujus anni ambitum morti ſuccumbit Richmarch cognomine Sapiens, filius Sulgeni Epiſcopi, cùm jam annum XLIII. ætatis ageret.

that commonly bare the name of *Salomon*. But so also is the fourth Book of *Esdras* cited by *Gildas*, in the name of [p] *blessed* Esdras *the Prophet*; which yet our Romanists will not admit to be Canonical: neither do our Writers mention any of the rest with more Titles of Respect, than we find given unto them by others of the ancient Fathers; who yet in express terms do exclude them out of the number of those Books, which properly are to be esteemed Canonical. So that from hence no sufficient proof can be taken, that our Ancestors did herein depart from the Tradition of the Elder Church, [*] delivered by St. *Hierome* in his Prologues, and explained by *Brito* (a Briton, it seemeth by Nation, as well as by Appellation) in his Commentaries upon the same; which being heretofore joyned with the Ordinary Gloss upon the Bible, have of late proved so distastful unto our Popish Divines, that in their new Editions (printed at *Lyons* anno, 1590. and at *Venice* afterward) they have quite crossed them out of their Books.

Yet *Marianus Scotus* (who was born in *Ireland* in MXXVIII. Year of our Lord) was somewhat more careful to maintain the ancient Bounds of the *Canon* set by his Forefathers. For he in his Chronicle, following *Eusebius* and St. *Hierom*, at the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* writeth thus: [q] *Hitherto the divine Scripture of the Hebrews containeth the order of Times. But those things that after this were done among the Jews, are represented out of the Book of the* Maccabees, *and the Writings of* Josephus *and* Aphricanus. But before him, more plainly, the Author of the Book *de mirabilibus Scripturæ* (who is accounted to have lived here, about the Year DCLVII.) [r] *In the Books of the* Maccabees, *howsoever some wonderful things be found, which might conveniently be inserted into this rank; yet will we not weary our selves with any care thereof: because we only purposed to touch in some measure a short historical Exposition of the wonderful things contained in the divine Canon.* As also in the Apocryphal Additions of *Daniel*, he telleth us, that what is reported [s] *touching the Lake (or Den)*

p Quid prætered beatus *Esdras* Propheta illa Bibliotheca legis, minatus sit attendite. *Gild. Epist.*

* *Vid. Richard. Armachanum, de quæstionib. Armenior. lib. 18. cap. 1.*

q Hucusque Hebræorum divina Scriptura temporum seriem continet. Quæ verò post hæc apud Judæos sunt gesta, de libro Maccabæorum, & Josephi atque Aphricani scriptis exhibentur. *Marian. Chron. M. S.*

r In Maccabæorum libris etsi aliquid mirabilium numero inferendum conveniens fuisse huic ordini inveniatur; de hoc tamen nullâ curâ fatigabimur: quia tantum agere proposuimus, unde divini canonis mirabilibus, exiguum (quamvis ingenioli nostri modulum excedentem) historicam expositionem ex parte aliquâ tangeremus. *Lib. 2. de mirabilib. Script. cap. 34. (inter opera S. Augustini, tom. 3.)*

s De lacu verò iterum & Abacuk translato in Bela & Draconis fabulâ, idcirco in hoc ordine non ponitur; quòd in authoritate divinæ Scripturæ non habentur. *Ibid. cap. 32.*

and

and the carrying of Abacuc, *in the Fable of* Bel *and the* Dragon, *is not therefore placed in this rank, becauſe theſe things have not the Authority of divine Scripture.*

And ſo much concerning the holy Scriptures.

CHAP. II.

Of Predeſtination, Grace, Free-will, Faith, Works, Juſtification and Sanctification.

THe Doctrine which our learned Men obſerved out of the Scriptures, and the Writings of the moſt approved Fathers, was this. That God b *by his immoveable Counſels* (as *Gallus* ſpeaking in his Sermon preached at *Conſtance*) ordained ſome of his Creatures *to praiſe him, and live bleſſedly from him, and in him, and by him:* namely, c *by his eternal Predeſtination, his free Calling, and his Grace which was due to none.* That d *he hath Mercy with great Goodneſs, and hardneth without any Iniquity: ſo as neither he that is delivered can glory of his own Merits, nor he that is condemned complain but of his own Merits. For as much as Grace only maketh the diſtinction betwixt the Redeemed and the Loſt; who by a cauſe drawn from their common original, were framed together into one maſs of Perdition.* For e *all mankind ſtood condemned in the apoſtatical Root* (of Adam) *with ſo juſt and divine a Judgment; that although none ſhould be freed from thence, no man could rightly blame the Juſtice of God: and ſuch as were freed, muſt ſo have been freed, that by thoſe many which were not freed, but left in their moſt juſt Condemnation, it might be ſhewed what the whole lump had deſerved, that the due Judgment of God ſhould have condemned even thoſe that*

b Præſcitam & prædeſtinatam immobili conſilio creaturam, ad ſe laudandum, & ex ſe & in ſe & per ſe beatè vivendum. *S. Gallus in ſerm. habit. Conſtant.*

c Prædeſtinatione ſcilicèt æternâ, non creatione temporariâ, ſed vocatione gratuitâ, vel indebitâ gratiâ. *Id. ibid.*

d Miſeretur magnâ bonitate, & obdurat nullâ iniquitate: ut neq; liberatus de ſuis meritis glorietur, neq; damnatus niſi de ſuis meritis conqueretur. Sola enim gratia redemptos diſcernit à perditis; quos in unam perditionis concreaverat maſſam, ab origine ducta cauſa communi. *Sedul. in Rom. 9.*

e Videt univerſum genus humanum tam juſto judicio divinoque in apoſtatica radice damnatum; ut etiamſi nullus inde liberatur, nemo rectè poſſet Dei vituperare juſtitiam: & qui liberantur, ſic oportuiſſe liberari, ut ex pluribus non liberatis, atq; damnatione juſtiſſima derelictis, oſtenderetur quid meruiſſet univerſa conſperſio, quòd etiam juſtos debitum judicium Dei damnaret, niſi in ejus debitum miſericordia ſubveniret: ut volentium de ſuis meritis gloriari, omne os obſtruatur; & qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur. *Id. ibid.*

are Justified, unless Mercy had relieved them from that which was due: that so all the mouths of them, which would glory of their Merits, might be stopped; and he that glorieth, might glory in the Lord.

They further taught (as St. *Augustine* did) that f *Man using ill his Free-will, lost both himself and it*, that, as one *by living is able to kill himself, but by killing himself is not able to live, nor hath power to raise up himself when he hath killed himself: so when Sin had been committed by Free-will, Sin being the Conqueroux, Free-will also was lost; for as much as of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he also brought in Bondage* (2. Pet. 2. 19.) that *unto a man thus brought in Bondage and sold, there is no liberty left to do well, unless he redeem him, whose saying is this; If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed.* (Joh. 8. 36.) that g *the mind of Men from their very youth is set upon evil: there being not a man which sinneth not.* That a man h *hath nothing from himself, but Sin.* That i *God is the Author of all good things, that is to say, both of good Nature, and of good-Will; which unless God do work in him, man cannot do, because this good-will is prepared by the Lord in man; that by the gift of God he may do that, which of himself he could not do by his own free-will.* That k *the Good-will of man goeth before many Gifts of God, but not all: and of those which it doth not go before, it self is one. For both of these is read in the holy Scriptures; His Mercy shall go before me, and, His mercy shall follow me: it preventeth him that is unwilling that he may will, and it followeth him that is willing, that he will not in vain.* And that therefore *we are admonished to ask that we may receive; to the end that what we do will may be effected by him, by whom it was effected that we did so will.*

f Libero arbitrio malè utens homo, & se perdidit, & ipsum. Sicut enim qui se occidit, utiq; vivendo se occidit, sed se occidendo non vivit, neque seipsum potest resuscitare cùm occiderit: ita cùm libero arbitrio peccaretur, victore peccato amissum est & liberum arbitrium, à quo enim quis devictus est, huic & servus additus est. Sed ad benè faciendum ista libertas unde erit homini addicto & vendito, nisi redimat, cujus illa vox est; Si vos Filius liberaverit, verè liberi eritis. *Id. ibid.* g Quòd ab adolescentia mens hominum apposita sit ad malitiam: non est enim homo qui non peccet. *Id. in Ephes.* 2. h Quid habes ex teipso nisi peccatum? *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* 4. i Deus Author est omnium bonorum, hoc est, & naturæ bonæ, & voluntatis bonæ; quam nisi Deus in illo operetur, non facit homo. Quia præparatur voluntas à Domino in homine bona; ut faciat Deo donante, quod à seipso facere non poterat per liberi arbitrii voluntatem. *Claud. lib.* 1. *in Matth.* k Præcedit bona voluntas hominis multa Dei dona, sed non omnia: quæ autem non præcedit ipsa, in eis est & ipsa. Nam utrumque legitur in sanctis eloquiis; & *misericordia ejus præveniet me*, & *misericordia ejus subsequetur me*: nolentem prævenit ut velit, volentem subsequitur, ne frustrà velit. Cur enim admonemur petere ut accipiamus; nisi ut ab illo fiat quod volumus, à quo factum est ut velimus? *Scalul. in Rom.* 9.

They

They taught also, that l *the Law was not given, that it might take away Sin, but that it might shut up all under Sin*; to the end that men, being *by this means humbled, might understand that their Salvation was not in their own hand, but in the hand of a Mediatour.* That by the Law cometh m *neither the Remission nor the Removal, but the Knowledge of Sin*: That it n *taketh not away Diseases, but discovereth them*; o *forgiveth not Sins, but condemneth them.* That p *the Lord God did impose it not upon those that served Righteousness, but Sin*; *namely, by giving a just Law to unjust men, to manifest their Sins, and not to take them away*: *for as much as nothing taketh away Sins, but the Grace of Faith which worketh by Love.* That our q *Sins are freely forgiven us*; r *without the merit of our Works*; that s *through Grace we are saved, by Faith, and not by works*; and that therefore we are to rejoyce, t *nor in our own Righteousness, or Learning, but in the Faith of the Cross, by which all our Sins are forgiven us.* That u *Grace is abject and vain, if it alone do not suffice* us: and that we x *esteem basely* of Christ, *when we think that he is not sufficient for us to Salvation.*

l Non ergo lex data est, ut peccatum auferret, sed ut sub peccato omnia concluderet. Lex enim ostendebat esse peccatum, quod illi per consuetudinem cæcati possent putare justitiam. t ut hoc modo humillati cognoscerent non in sua manu esse salutem suam, sed in manu mediatoris. *Id. in Gal.* 3.

m Non remissio, nec ablatio peccatorum, sed cognitio. *Id. in Rom.* 3. n Lex, quæ per Moysen data est, tantùm peccata ostendit, non abstulit. *Claud. in Gal.* 2. Per eam illam legem morbos ostendentem non auferentem, etiam prævaricationis crimine contrita superbia est. *Id. in Gal.* 3. o Lex non donat peccata, sed damnat. *Sedul. in Rom.* 4. p Dominus Deus imposuerat non justitiæ servientibus sed peccato: justam scilicèt legem in justis hominibus dando, ad demonstranda peccata eorum, non auferenda. Non enim aufert peccata nisi gratiâ fidei quæ per dilectionem operatur. *Claud. in Argument. epist. ad Gal.* q Gratis nobis donantur peccata, *Sedul. in Gal.* 1. A morte redempris gratis peccata dimittuntur. *Id. in Ephes.* 1. r Absq; operum merito, & peccata nobis concessa sunt pristina, & pax indulta post veniam. *Claud. in Gal.* 1. s Gratiâ estis salvati per fidem, id est, non per opera. *Sedul. in Eph.* 2. t Non in propriâ justitiâ, vel doctrina, sed in fide crucis, per quam mihi omnia peccata dimissa sunt. *Sedul. & Claud. Gal.* 6. u Abjecta & irrisata gratia est, si mihi sola non sufficit. *Sedul. in Gal.* 2. x *Christum* vilem habetis, dum putatis cum nobis non sufficere ad salutem. *Id. in Gal.* 3.

That y *God hath so ordered it, that he will be gracious to mankind, if they do believe that they shall be freed by the Blood* of Christ. That, as z *the Soul is the Life of the Body, so Faith is the Life of the Soul*: and that we live a *by Faith only, as owing nothing to the*

y Disposuit Deus propitium se futurum esse humano generi, si credant in sanguine ejus se esse liberandos. *Id. in Rom.* 3. z Vitæ corporis anima, vitæ animæ fides est. *Id. in Hebr.* 10. a In fide vivo filii Dei, id est, in sola fide, qui nihil debeo legi. *Id. in Gal.* 2.

Law. That b *he who believeth in Chriſt, hath the perfection of the Law. For whereas none might be juſtified by the Law, becauſe none did fulfil the Law, but only he which did truſt in the Promiſe of Chriſt; Faith was appointed, which ſhould be accepted for the perfection of the Law, that in all things which were omitted Faith might ſatisfie for the whole Law.* That this righteouſneſs therefore is c *nor ours, nor in us, but in Chriſt*; in whom we are conſidered *as Members in the Head.* That d *Faith, procuring the Remiſſion of Sins by Grace, maketh all believers the Children of* Abraham: and that e *it was juſt that as* Abraham *was juſtified by Faith only, ſo alſo the reſt that followed his Faith ſhould be ſaved* after the ſame manner. That f *through Adoption we are made the Sons of God, by believing in the Son of God*: and that this is g *a Teſtimony of our Adoption, that we have the Spirit; by which we pray,* and cry Abba Father; *for as much as none can receive ſo great a Pledge as this, but ſuch as be Sons only.* That h *Moſes himſelf made a diſtinction betwixt both the Juſtices, to wit, of Faith and of Deeds: that the one did by Works juſtifie him that came, the other by believing only.* That i *the Patriarchs and the Prophets were not juſtified by the Works of the Law, but by Faith.* That k *the Cuſtom of Sin hath ſo prevailed, that none now can fulfil the Law:* l *as the Apoſtle* Peter *ſaith,* Acts 15. 10. *Which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear. But if there were any Righteous Men which did eſcape the Curſe: it was not by the Works of the Law, but for their Faiths ſake that they were ſaved.*

b Perfectionem legis habet, qui credit in Chriſto. Cùm enim nullus juſtificaretur ex lege, quia nemo implebat legem, niſi qui ſperaret in promiſſionem Chriſti: fides poſita eſt, quæ crederet pro perfectione legis; ut in omnibus prætermiſſis fides ſatisfaceret pro tota lege. *Id. in Rom.* 10.

c Non noſtra, non id nobis, ſed in Chriſto, quaſi membra in capite. *Id. in* 2 *Cor.* 5.

d Fides dimiſſis per gratiam peccatis, omnes credentes filios effecit Abrahæ. *Id. in Rom.* 4.

e Juſtum fuerat, ut quomodo Abrahæ credens ex gentibus per ſolam fidem juſtificatus eſt; ita cæteri fidem ejus imitantes ſalvarentur. *Id. in Rom.* 1.

f Per adoptionem efficimur filii Dei, credendo in filium Dei. *Claud. lib.* 1 *in Mat.*

g Teſtimonium adoptionis, quòd habemus ſpiritum, per quem ita oramus: tantùm enim arrham non poterat, niſi filii accipere. *Sed. in Rom.* 8.

h Ipſe Moſes diſtinxit inter utramque juſtitiam, fidei ſcilicet atque factorum: quia altera operibus, altera ſolâ credulitate juſtificet accedentem. *Id. in Rom.* 10.

i Patriarchæ & Propheræ non ex operibus legis, ſed ex fide juſtificati ſunt. *Id. in Gal.* 2.

k Ita prævaluit conſuetudo peccandi, ut nemo jam perficiat legem: ſicut Petrus Apoſtolus ait; Quod neque nos neque patres noſtri portare potuimus. Si qui verò juſti non erant maledicti; non ex operibus legis, ſed fidei gratia ſalvati ſunt. *Id. in Gal.* 3.

Thus did *Sedulius* and *Claudius*, two of our moſt famous Divines, deliver the Doctrine of Free-will and Grace, Faith and Works; the Law and the Goſpel, Juſtification and Adoption; no leſs agreeably to the Faith which is at this day profeſſed in the reformed Churches, than to that which they themſelves received from

from the more ancient Doctors, whom they did follow therein. Neither do we in our Judgment one whit differ from them, when they teach that [l] *Faith alone is not sufficient to life.* For when it is said, that *Faith alone justifieth*; this word *alone* may be conceived to have relation, either to the former part of the Sentence, which in the Schools they term the *Subject*; or to the latter, which they call the *Predicate*. Being referred to the former, the meaning will be; that such a Faith as is *alone* (that is to say, not accompanied with other Vertues) doth justifie: and in this Sense we utterly disclaim the Assertion. But being referred to the latter, it maketh this Sense; that Faith is it which *alone* or only justifieth: and in this meaning only do we defend that Proposition; understanding still by *Faith*, not a dead Carcase thereof (for how should the just be able to *live* by a *dead* Faith?) but a true and lively Faith, [m] *which worketh by Love.* For as it is a certain truth, that among all the Members of the Body, the Eye is the only Instrument whereby we see; and yet it is as true also, that the Eye being alone, and separated from the rest of the Members, is dead, and for that cause doth neither see only, nor see at all: so these two Sayings likewise may stand well enough together, that among all the vertues in the Soul, Faith is the only Instrument whereby we lay hold upon Christ for our Justification; and yet, that Faith being alone, and dis-joyned from the society of other Graces, *is dead in it self*, (as St. [n] *James* speaketh) and in that respect can neither only justifie, nor justifie at all.

So though *Claudius* do teach as we do, that [o] *Faith alone saveth us; because by the works of the Law no man shall be justified*: yet he addeth withal this caution. [p] *Not as if the works of the Law should be contemned, and without them a simple Faith* (so he calleth that *solitary* Faith whereof we speak, which is a *simple* Faith indeed) *should be desired; but that the works themselves should be adorned with the Faith of Christ. For that Sentence of the wise Man is excellent, that the faithful Man doth not live by Righteousness, but the righteous Man by Faith.* In like manner *Sedulius*, acknowledgeth with us, that God [q] *hath purposed by Faith only to forgive our Sins freely*, and [r] *by Faith only to save the Believers*;

[l] Hoc contra illos agit, qui solam fidem posse sufficere dicunt. *Sedul. in Ephes.* 5. Non ergo sola ad vitam sufficit fides. *Claud. in Gal.* 5. *bis.* Haec sententia illos revincit, qui solam fidem ad salutem animarum suarum sufficere arbitrantur. *Id. ibid. in fine.*

[m] *Gal.* 5, 6.

[n] *Jam.* 2. 17.

[o] Si gentes fides sola non salvat, nec nos: quia ex operibus legis nemo justificabitur. *Claud. in Galat.* 2.

[p] Non quò legis opera contemnenda sint, & absque eis simplex fides adpetenda; sed ipsa opera fide Christi adornentur. Scita est enim sapientis viri illa sententia; non fidelem vivere ex justitia, sed justum ex fide. *Id. in Galat.* 3.

[q] Gratis propositum per solam fidem dimittere peccata. *Sedul. in Rom.* 4.

[r] Ut sola fide salvarentur credentes. *Idem. in Galat.* 3.

and

and that, when men have fallen, they are to be renewed [r] *only by the Faith of Chriſt, which worketh by Love.* Intimating by this laſt Clauſe, that howſoever Faith only be it which juſtifieth the man, yet the work of Love is neceſſarily required (for all that) to juſtifie the Faith. And *this Faith* (ſaith ſhe) *when it hath been juſtified, ſticketh in the ſoyl of the Soul, like a Root which hath received a ſhower: that when it hath begun to be manured by the Law of God, it may riſe up again into Boughs, which may bear the fruit of Works. Therefore the Root of Righteouſneſs doth not grow out of works, but the fruit of works out of the Root of Righteouſneſs; namely, out of that Root of Righteouſneſs, which God doth accept for Righteouſneſs without works.* The concluſion is: That ſaving Faith is always a fruitful Faith; and though it never go alone, yet may there be ſome Gift of God, which it alone is able to reach unto, as [u] *Columbanus* alſo implieth in that verſe:

Sola fides fidei dono ditabitur almo.

[r] Per ſolum fidem Chriſti, quæ per dilectionem operatur. *Id. in Hebr. 6.*

[s] Hæc fides cùm juſtificata fuerit, tanquam radix imbre ſuſcepto, hæret in animæ ſolo; ut eum per legem Dei excoli cœperit, rurſum in eam ſurgant rami, qui fructus operum ferant. Non ergo ex operibus radix juſtitiæ, ſed ex radice juſtitiæ fructus operum creſcit: illa ſcilicet radicè juſtitiæ, cui Deus acceptum fert juſtitiam ſine operibus. *Id. in Rom. 4.*

[u] *Columban. in Monaſtichis.*

The greateſt Depreſſers of God's Grace, and the Advancers of Man's Abilities, were *Pelagius* and *Celeſtius*: the one born in *Britain* (as appeareth by *Proſper Aquitanus*) the other in *Scotland* or *Ireland*; as [x] Mr. *Perſons* doth gather out of thoſe words of St. *Hierom* in one of the Prefaces of his Commentaries (not upon *Ezekiel*, as he quoteth it, but) upon *Jeremy*. [y] *He hath his Off-ſpring from the Scottiſh Nation, near to the Britains.* Theſe Hereticks (as our *Marianus* noteth out of *Proſper*, in his Chronicle) preached, among other of their Impieties, [z] that for *attaining of Righteouſneſs every one was governed by his own Will, and received ſo much Grace as he did merit.* Whoſe venomous Doctrine was in *Britain* repreſſed, firſt by *Palladius*, *Lupus*, *Germanus* and *Severus* from abroad; afterward, by *David Menevenſis*, and his Succeſſors at home; agreeably to whoſe Inſtitution, *Aſſer Menevenſis* doth profeſs, that God is always to be eſteemed both the Mover of the will, and the Beſtower of the good that is willed,

[x] *Perſ. three Converſ. part. 1. chap. 3. ſect. 10.*

[y] Habet enim progeniem Scoticæ gentis, de Britannorum vicinia. *Hieron. Proem. lib. 3. commentar. in Jerem.*

[z] Unumquemque ad juſtitiam voluntatis propriæ regi; tantumque accipere gratiæ, quantum meruerit. *Marian. Scot. Chron. ad an. Dom. 413. vel 414. whereof ſee more particularly, the Anſwer to the Jeſuit, in the queſtion of Free-will.*

for

for he is (saith he) [a] *the Instigator of all good wills, and withall the most bountiful Provider, that the good things desired may be had: forasmuch as he would never stir up any to will well, unless he did also liberally supply that, which every one doth well and justly desire to obtain.*

[a] Omnium bonarum voluntarum Justigator; nec non etiam, ut habeantur bona desiderata, largissimus administrator; neque enim unquam aliquem bene velle instigaret, nisi & hoc, quod bene & juste quisque habere desiderat, largiter administraret. *Asser. de rebus gestis Ælfredi, R.*

Among our *Irish*, the grounds of sound Doctrine in these points were at the beginning well setled by *Palladius* and *Patricius*, [b] sent hither by *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*. And when the Poyson of the Pelagian Heresie, about two hundred years after that, began to break out among them: the Clergy of *Rome*, in the Year of our Lord DCXXXIX. (during the vacancy of the See, upon the death of *Severinus*) directed their Letters unto them, for the preventing of this growing mischief. Wherein among other things they put them in mind, that [d] *it is both Blasphemy and Folly to say, that a man is without Sin: which none at all can say, but that one Mediatour betwixt God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus, who was conceived and born without Sin.* Which is agreeable partly, to that of *Claudius*; that [e] *it is manifest unto all Men, although it be contradicted by Heretick, that there is none who can live upon Earth, without the touch of some Sin*: partly to that of *Sedulius*, that [f] *there is none of the Elect so great, whom the Devil doth not dare to accuse, but him alone who did no Sin, and who said; The Prince of this world cometh now, and in me he findeth nothing.*

[b] *Prosp. Aquitan. advers. Collator. circa finem.*

[d] Blasphemia & stultiloquium est dicere, esse hominem sine peccare: quod omnino non potest, nisi unus mediator Dei & hominum homo Christus Jesus, qui sine peccato est conceptus & partus. *Epist. Cler. Roman. apud Bedam, lib. 2. hist. cap. 19.*

[e] Quia, (quod omnibus sapientibus patet, licèt hæretici contradicant) nemo est, qui sine adtactu alicujus peccati vivere possit super terram. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

[f] Nullus electus & ita magnus, quem Diabolus non audeat accusare: nisi illum solum, qui peccatum non fecit, qui & dicebat; Nunc venit princeps hujus mundi, & in me nihil invenit. *Sed. in Rom. 8.*

For touching the imperfection of our Sanctification in this Life, these men held the same that we do: to wit, that the Law [g] *cannot be fulfilled*; that [h] *there is none that doth good, that is to say, perfect and entire good.* That [i] Gods elect shall be perfectly

[g] Non potest impleri. *Id. in Rom. 7.*

[h] Non est qui faciat bonum, hoc est, perfectum & integrum bonum. *Id. in Rom. 3.*

[i] Ad hoc nos elegit, ut essemus sancti & immaculati, in futura vita; quoniam Ecclesia Christi non habebit maculam neque rugam. Licèt etiam in præsenti vita justi, & sancti, & immaculati, quamvis non ex toto, tamen ex parte, non inconvenienter dici possunt. *Id. in Ephes. 1.*

holy

holy and immaculate in the life to come, where the Church of Christ shall have no spot nor wrinkle: Whereas *in this present Life they are Righteous, Holy and Immaculate, not wholly, but in part only*; that k *the righteous shall then be without all kind of Sin, when there shall be no Law in their Members, that shall resist the Law of their Mind*; that although l *Sin do not now reign in their mortal Body to obey the desires thereof*: yet *sin dwelleth in that mortal Body, the force of that natural Custom being not yet extinguished*, which we have gotten by our original, and increased by our actual Transgressions. And as for the matter of *Merit*: *Sedulius* doth resolve us out of St. *Paul*, that we are Saints m *by the Calling of God, not by the Merit of our Deed*; that God is able to do exceeding abundantly above that we ask or think, n *according to the Power that worketh in us, not according to our Merits*; that o *whatsoever men have from God, is Grace, because they have nothing of due*; and that p *nothing can be found worthy or to be compared with the Glory to come.*

k Tunc erit justus sine ullo omnino peccato, quando nulla lex erit in membris ejus, repugnans legi mentis ejus *Claud. in Gal.* 5.

l Non enim jam regnat peccatum in eorum mortali corpore ad obediendum desideriis ejus: quamvis habitet in eodem mortali corpore peccatum, nondum extincto impetu consuetudinis naturalis, quâ mortaliter nati sumus, & ex propriis vitæ nostræ, cùm & nos ipsi peccando auximus quod ab origine peccati humani damnationis trahebamus. *Id. ibid.* m Vocatione Dei, non merito facti. *Sedul. in Rom.* 1. n Secundùm virtutem quæ operatur in nobis; non secundùm merita nostra. *Id. in Ephes.* 3. o Scientium est, quia omne quod habemus homines à Deo, gratia est: nihil enim ex debito habent. *Id. in Rom.* 16. p Nihil dignum inveniri vel comparari ad futuram gloriam potest. *Id. in Rom.* 8.

CHAP. III.

Of Purgatory, and Prayer for the Dead.

THe next Point that offereth it self unto our Consideration, is that of *Purgatory*. Whereof if any man do doubt; a *Cæsarius* (a German Monk of the Cistercian Order) adviseth him for his Resolution to make a Journey into *Scotland* (the greater Scotland he meaneth) and there to *enter into St.* Patricks *Purgatory*: and then he giveth him his word, that *he shall no more*

a Qui de Purgatorio dubitat, Scotiam pergat, Purgatorium sancti Patricii intret, & de Purgatorii pœnis amplius non dubitabit. *Cæsar Heisterbach. Dialog. lib.* 12. *cap.* 38.

doubt

doubt of the Pains of Purgatory. If Doctor *Terry* (who commendeth this unto us, as the Testimony of [b] *a most famous Author*) should chance to have a doubtful thought hereafter of the pains of Purgatory; I would wish his ghostly Father to injoyn him no other Penance, but the undertaking of a Pilgrimage unto St. *Patricks* Purgatory; to see whether he would prove any wiser when he came from thence, than when he went thither. In the mean time, until he hath made some further Experiment of the matter, he shall give me leave to believe him that hath been there, and hath cause to know the place as well as any (the Island wherein it is seated, being held by him as a part of the Inheritance, descended unto him from his Ancestours) and yet professeth, that he found nothing therein, which might afford him any Argument to think there was a Purgatory. I pass by, that *Nennius*, and *Probus*, and all the elder Writers of the Life of St. *Patrick*, that I have met withal, speak not one word of any such place; and that [c] *Henry* the Monk of *Saltrey* in the days of King *Stephen*, is the first in whom I could ever find any mention thereof. This only would I know of the Doctor, what the reason might be, that where he bringeth in the words of *Giraldus Cambrensis* touching this place, as [d] *an authentical Authority*; he passeth over that part of his Relation, wherein he affirmeth, that St. *Patrick* intended by this means, to bring the rude people to a Perswasion of the Certainty [e] *of the Infernal Pains of the Reprobate, and of the true and everlasting Life of the Elect after Death.*

[b] Cujus loci fama, ita sparsim per omnes Europæ partes volare visa est; ut Cæsarius celeberrimus auctor de eo nihil dubitans sic scribat. *Guil. Thyræus, in Discurs. Panegyric. de S. Patric. pag.* 151.

[c] *Henr. Saltreyins. in lib. de Visione Owini militis M. S. in publicâ Cantabrigiensis Academiæ Bibliothecâ; & privatâ viri doctiss. M. Thomæ Alani Oxonienſis; & in Nigro libro Ecclesiæ S. Trinitat. Dublin.*

[d] De posteriori non minùs authentica videtur auctoritas Giraldi Cambrensis, rerum Ibernicarum diligentissimi investigatoris, qui taliter loquitur. *Thyr. Discurs. Panegyric. pag.* 153. [e] De infernalibus namque reproborum pœnis, & de vera post mortem perpetuaque electorum vita vir sanctus cum gente incredula dum disputâsset: ut tanta tam inusitata tam inopinabilis rerum novitas rudibus infidelium animis oculata fide certiùs imprimeretur: efficaci orationum instantia magnam & admirabilem utriusque rei notitiam, duræque cervicis populo perutilem, meruit in terris obtinere. *Giral. Cambrens. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 2. cap.* 5.

The Grecians alledge this for one of their Arguments against Purgatory: that whereas [f] *their Fathers had delivered unto them many Visions and Dreams and other Wonders, concerning everlasting*

[f] Οἱ τῶν ἐκείνων πολλοὶ ὁράσεις καὶ ἐνυπνίους καὶ ἑτέρων θαυμάτων τὰ περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσπόνδου καὶ διαπαντὸς αὐτοῖς μένειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μυήσεις. ὡς οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο προσαιρεῖν τινὰς ἄλλην ἰδέαν διαπράσσειν. Marcus Ephesius, in Græcorum Apolog. de igne Purgatorio ad Concil. Basileens.

CAMBRIDGE 1870 UNIVERSITY BRADSHAW COLL.

Puniſhment, wherewith the wicked ſhould be tormented in Hell; yet none of them had *declared any thing concerning a Purgatory temporary Fire.* Belike the Doctor was afraid, that we ſhould conclude upon the ſame ground; that St. *Patrick* was careful to plant in mens Minds the Belief of *Heaven* and *Hell*, but of *Purgatory* taught them never a word. And ſure I am, that in the Book aſcribed unto him, *De tribus habitaculis*, (which is to be ſeen in his Majeſties Library) there is no mention of any other place after this Life, but of theſe two only. I will lay down here the beginning of that Treatiſe; and leave it to the Judgment of any indifferent man, whether it can well ſtand with that which the Romaniſts teach concerning Purgatory at this day. 8 *There be three Habitations under the Power of Almighty God: the firſt, the lowermoſt, and the middle. The higheſt whereof is called the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven, the lowermoſt is termed Hell, the middle is named the preſent World, or the circuit of the Earth. The extremes whereof are altogether contrary one to another: (for what fellowſhip can there be betwixt Light and Darkneſs, betwixt Chriſt and Belial?) but the middle hath ſome ſimilitude with the Extremes. For in this world there is a mixture of the bad and of the good together. Whereas in the Kingdom of God there are none bad, but all good: but in Hell there are none good, but all bad. And both thoſe places are ſupplyed out of the middle. For of the men of this world, ſome are lifted up to Heaven, others are drawn down to Hell. Namely, like are joyned unto like, that is to ſay, good to good, and bad to bad: Juſt Men to juſt Angels, wicked Men to wicked Angels; the ſervants of God to God, the ſervants of the Devil to the Devil. The bleſſed are called to the Kingdom prepared for them, from the beginning of the World: the curſed are driven into the everlaſting Fire, that is prepared for the Devil and his Angels.* Thus far there.

8 Tria ſunt ſub omnipotentis Dei nutu habitacula: primum, imum, medium. Quorum ſummum regnum Dei vel regnum Cœlorum dicitur, imum vocatur Infernus, medium Mundus præſens vel Orbis terrarum appellatur. Quorum extrema omnino ſibi invicem ſunt contraria, & nulli ſibi ſocietate conjuncta; (quæ enim ſocietas poteſt eſſe luci ad tenebras, & Chriſto ad Belial?) medium verò nonnullam habet ſimilitudinem ad extrema, *&c.* Commixtio namque malorum ſimul & bonorum in hoc mundo eſt. In regno autem Dei nulli mali ſunt, ſed omnes boni: at in Inferno nulli boni ſunt, ſed omnes mali. Et utrique locus ex medio ſuppletur. Hominum enim hujus mundi alii elevantur ad Cœlum, alii trahuntur ad Infernum. Similes quippe ſimilibus jungentur, id eſt, boni bonis, & mali malis; juſti homines juſtis angelis, tranſgreſſores homines tranſgreſſoribus angelis; ſervi dei Deo, ſervi diaboli Diabolo. Benedicti vocantur ad regnum ſibi paratum ab origine mundi: maledicti expelluntur in ignem æternum, qui præparatus eſt Diabolo & angelis ejus. *Patric. de trib. habitac. in S. in Bibliotheca Regia Jacobea.*

Hi-

Hitherto alſo may be referred that ancient Canon of one of our Iriſh Synods, wherein it is affirmed, that the Soul being ſeparated from the Body is [h] *preſented before the Judgment-Seat of Chriſt, who rendreth it's own unto it, according as it hath done*: and that *neither the Archangel can lead it unto Life, until the Lord hath judged it; nor the Devil tranſport it unto Pain, unleſs the Lord do damn it.* As the ſayings of *Sedulius* likewiſe; that after the end of this life, [i] *either Death or Life ſucceedeth*, and that [k] *death is the Gate by which we enter into our Kingdom*: together with that of *Claudius*; that [l] *Chriſt did take upon him our Puniſhment without the Guilt, that thereby he might looſe our Guilt, and finiſh alſo our Puniſhment.* Cardinal *Bellarmine* indeed alledgeth here againſt us the Viſion of *Furſeus*: who [m] *riſing from the Dead, told many things, which he ſaw concerning the Pains of Purgatory*; as *Bede*, he ſaith, doth write. But, by his good leave, we will be better adviſed, before we build Articles of Faith upon ſuch Viſions and Dreams as theſe: Many whereof deſerve to have a place among [n] *the ſtrange narrations of Souls appearing after Death*, collected by *Damaſcius* the heathen Idolater; rather than among the Hiſtories and Diſcourſes of ſober Chriſtians.

h Cuſtodit animam uſque dum ſteterit ante tribunal Chriſti; cui refert ſua prout geſſerit propria. Nec archangelus poteſt ducere ad vitam uſque dum judicaverit eam Dominus; nec Diabolus ad pœnam traducere, niſi Dominus damnaverit eam. *Synod. Hibern. in vet. cod. Canonum, titulorum 66. M.S. in Bibliothecâ D. Robert. Cotton.* Cujus initium: *Inter vetera concilia, quatuor eſſe venerabiles Synodos, &c.* i Finem dixit exitum vitæ & actum; cui aut mors, aut vita ſuccedit. *Sedul. in Rom.* 7. k Mors porta eſt, per quam itur ad regnum. *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* 3. l Suſcepit Chriſtus ſine reatu ſupplicium noſtrum; ut inde ſolveret reatum noſtrum, & finiret etiam ſupplicium noſtrum. *Claud. in Galat.* 3. m Beda lib. 3. hiſt. Anglor. cap. 19. ſcribit, B. Furſeum à mortuis reſurgentem narraſſe multa, quæ vidit de purgatoriis pœnis. *Bellarm. de Purgator. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. n Δαμασκίε ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῶν ἱστοροῦντος ψυχῶν, παραδόξων διηγημάτων πολλὰ ῥᾳ. Phot. Bibliothec. num. 130.

As for this Viſion of *Furſeus*: all that *Bede* relateth of it to this purpoſe, is concerning certain great fires above the Air, appointed to [o] *examine every one according to the Merits of his Works.* Which peradventure may make ſomething for *Damaſcius* his Purgatory in *Circulo lacteo* (for in that circle made he [p] a way for the Souls that went to the *Hades* in Heaven; and [q] would not have us wonder, that there they ſhould be purged

o Erit terribilis iſte & grandis rogus videtur, tamen juxta merita operum ſingulos examinat: quis uniuſcujuſque cupiditas in hoc igne ardebit. *Bed. lib.* 3. *cap.* 19. p Ὁ δὲ ἁδὴς ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀποθνῄσκοντων τὸν ἐν ἅιδου λέγει. Damaſc. apud Jo. Philoponum in 1. Meteor. fol. 104. b. q Καὶ ὃ θαυμαζειν, οἱ μὲν ψυχαὶ καθαίρεσθαι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κύκλῳ τὸν ἐν ἅιδου χρόνον. Id. ibid.

by the way:) but nothing for the Papists Purgatory, which *Bellarmine* by the common Consent of the Schoolmen, determineth to be within the Bowels of the Earth. Neither is there any thing else in the whole Book of the Life of *Fursens* (whence *Bede* borrowed these things) that looketh toward Purgatory: unless peradventure that speech of the Devil, may be thought to give some advantage unto it. [r] *This man hath not purged his Sins upon Earth; neither doth he receive punishment for them here. Where is therefore the Justice of God?* as if Gods Justice were not sufficiently satisfied by the Sufferings of Christ; but Man also must needs give further Satisfaction thereunto, by penal Works or Sufferings, either here, or in the other World. Which is the ground, upon which our Romanists do lay the rotten Frame of their devised Purgatory.

[r] Hic homo non purgavit delicta sua in terrâ, nec vindictam hic recipit. Ubi est ergo justitia Dei? *Lib. vitæ Fursæi.*

The later Visions of *Malachias*, *Tundal*, *Owen*, and others that lived within these last five hundred years, come not within the compass of our present Inquiry: nor yet the Fables that have been framed in those times, touching the Lives and Actions of elder Saints; whereof no wise Man will make any reckoning. Such (for example) is that which we read in the life of St. *Brendan*: that the question being moved in his hearing, [s] *Whether the Sins of the Dead could be redeemed by the Prayers or Alms-deeds of their friends remaining in this Life* (for that was still a question in the Church:) he is said to have told them, that on a certain night, as he sailed in the great Ocean, the Soul of one *Colman* (t who *had been an Angry Monk, and a sower of Discord betwixt Brethren*) appeared unto him; who complaining of his grievous Torments, intreated that Prayers might be made to God for him, and after six days thankfully acknowledged, that by means thereof he had gotten into Heaven. Whereupon it is concluded, u *that the Prayer of the living doth profit much the dead.* But of St. *Brendan's* Sea-Pilgrimage we have the censure of *Molanus* a learned Romanist; that there be x *many Apocryphal fooleries* in it: and whosoever readeth the same with any Judgment, cannot choose but pronounce of it, as *Photius* doth of the *strange narrations of Damascius*, formerly mentioned; that it containeth not only *apocryphal*, but also y *im-*

[s] Si peccata mortuorum redimi possunt ab amicis suis remanentibus in hâc vitâ; orando, vel eleemosynas faciendo. *Vit. Brendani, in Legendâ Jo. Capgravii.*

[t] Colmannus, inquit, vocor, qui fui Monachus iracundus, discordiæque seminator inter fratres, *ibid.*

[u] In hoc ergo, dilectissimi, apparet: quòd oratio vivorum multùm mortuis prodest. *Ibid.* [x] Multa apocrypha deliramenta. *Molan. in usuard. martyrolog. Mai. 26.* [y] Ἀπόκρυφα τε καὶ ἀπίθανα, καὶ πολλὰς τὰς ἱστορίας μυθολογοῦντα καὶ μακράς. Phot. Bibliothec. num. 130.

possible

poſſible, incredible, ill-compoſed, and monſtrous Fooleries. Whereof though the old Legend it ſelf were not free (as by the Heads thereof, touched by *Glaber Rodulphus* and *Giraldus Cambrenſis*, may appear) yet for the Tale, that I recited out of the z *New Legend* of *England*, I can ſay that in the *Manuſcript* Books which I have met withal here, in St. *Brendans* own Countrey (one whereof was tranſcribed for the uſe of the Friars Minors of *Kilkenny*, about the year of our Lord 1350.) there is not the leaſt footſtep thereof to be ſeen.

z Nova Legenda Angliæ. *Impreſſ. Londin. an.* 1516.

And this is a thing very obſervable in the ancient Lives of our Saints (ſuch I mean, as have been written before the time of Satans looſing; beyond which we do not now look:) that the Prayers and Oblations for the dead mentioned therein, are expreſly noted to have been made for them, whoſe Souls were ſuppoſed at the ſame inſtant to have reſted in Bliſs. So *Adamnanus* reporteth, that Saint *Colme* (called by the Iriſh, both in a *Bedes*, and our days, *Colum-kill*) b cauſed all things to be prepared, for the ſacred Miniſtry of the Euchariſt; when he had ſeen the Soul of St. *Brexdan* received by the holy Angels: and that he did the like, when *Columbanus* Biſhop of *Leinſter* departed this life. For *I muſt to day* (ſaith St. *Colme* c there) *although I be unworthy, celebrate the holy Myſteries of the Euchariſt, for the reverence of that Soul which this night, carried beyond the ſtarry firmament betwixt the holy Quires of Angels, aſcended into Paradiſe.* Whereby it appeareth, that an honourable Commemoration of the dead was herein intended, and a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving for their Salvation, rather than of Propitiation for their Sins. In *Bede* alſo we find mention of the like Obſequies, celebrated by St. *Cuthbert* for one *Hadwaldus*; after d he *had ſeen his Soul carried by the hands of Angels, unto the Joyes of the Kingdom of Heaven.* So *Gallus* and *Magnus* (as *Walafridus Strabus* relateth in the life of the one, and *Theodorus Campidonenſis*, or whoſoever elſe was Author of the Life of the other,) e *ſaid Maſs* (which what it was in thoſe days we ſhall afterward hear) *and were inſtant in Prayers for the Commemoration* of Abbat *Columbanus* their Countryman; f *frequenting the memory of that great Father, with*

a Qui videlicèt Columba nunc à non nullis, compoſito à cella & Columba nomine, Columcelli vocatus. *Bed. lib.* 5. *hiſt. cap.* 10.

b *Adamn. Vit. Columb. lib.* 3. *cap.* 15.

c Meque (ait) hodie, quamlibèt indignus ſim, ob venerationem illius animæ, quæ hac in nocte inter ſanctos Angelorum choros vecta ultra fiderea cœlorum ſpatia ad paradiſum aſcendit, ſacra oportet Euchariſtiæ celebrare myſteria. *Id. cap.* 16.

d Vidi, inquit, animam cujuſdam ſancti manibus Angelicis ad gaudia regni cœleſtis ferri. *Bed. in vit. Cuthbert. cap.* 34.

e Cœperunt miſſas agere, & precibus inſiſtere pro commemoratione B. Columbani. *Walafrid. Vit. Gall. lib.* 1. *cap.* 26. *Theodor. vit. Magni, lib.* 1. *cap. ult. edit. Goldaſti, c.* 12. *Canſii.*

f Deinde tanti patris memoriam precibus ſacris & ſacrificiis ſalutaribus frequentaverunt. *Ibid.*

holy

holy Prayers, and healthful Sacrifices. Where that ſpeech of *Gallus* unto his Deacon *Magnus* or *Magnoaldus*, is worthy of ſpecial Conſideration: g *After this night watch, I underſtood by a Viſion, that my Maſter and Father* Columbanus, *is to day departed out of the Miſeries of this Life unto the Joys of Paradiſe. For his Reſt therefore I ought to offer the Sacrifice of Salvation.* In like manner alſo, *when Gallus* himſelf died; h *John* Biſhop of *Conſtance* prayed *to the Lord for his Reſt, and offered healthful Sacrifices for him:* although he were certainly perſwaded, that he had attained the bleſſing of everlaſting Life; as may be ſeen in *Walafridus*. And when *Magnus* afterwards was in his death-bed, he is ſaid to have uſed theſe words unto *Tozzo* Biſhop of *Ausborough*, that came to viſit him: i *Do not weep, reverend Prelate, becauſe thou beholdeſt me labouring in ſo many ſtorms of worldly Troubles: becauſe I believe in the Mercy of God, that my Soul ſhall rejoyce in the freedom of Immortality. Yet I beſeech thee, that thou wilt not ceaſe to help me a Sinner and my Soul with thy holy Prayers.* Then followeth: That at the time of his departure, this voice was heard; k *Come, Magnus, come, receive the Crown which the Lord hath prepared for thee.* And that thereupon *Tozzo* ſaid unto *Theodorus* (the ſuppoſed writer of this Hiſtory) l *Let us ceaſe weeping, Brother; becauſe we ought rather to rejoyce, having heard this ſign of the receiving of his Soul unto Immortality, than to make Lamentation. But let us go to the Church, and be careful to offer healthful Sacrifices to the Lord for ſo dear a Friend.*

g Poſt hujus vigilias noctis, cognovi per viſionem, Dominum & patrem meum Columbanum de hujus vitæ anguſtiis hodie ad Paradiſi gaudia commigraſſe. Pro ejus itaque requie ſacrificium ſalutis debeo immolare. *Ibid.*

h Presbyter cum ut ſurgeret monuit, & pro requie defuncti ambitioſius Dominum precaretur. Intraverunt itaque Eccleſias, & Epiſcopus pro cariſſimo ſalutares hoſtias immolavit amico. Finito autem fraternæ commemorationis obſequio, *&c. Walafrid. Strab. vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap.* 30. *qui etiam addit poſtea, Diſcipulos ejus,* pariter cum Epiſcopo orationem pro illo feciſſe. *cap.* 33. i Noli fiere, venerabilis Præſul, quia me in tot mundialium perturbationum procellis laborantem conſpicis: quoniam credo in miſericordiâ Dei, quòd anima mea in immortalitatis libertate ſit gaviſura. Tamen deprecor, ut orationibus tuis ſanctis me peccatorem & animam meam non deſinas adjuvare. *Theodor. Campidon. vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Magni, lib. 2. cap.* 13. *edit. Goldaſti, cap.* 28. *Canſii.* k Veni, Magne, veni; accipe coronam quam tibi Dominus præparatam habet. *Ibid.* l Ceſſemus fiere, frater; quia potius nos oportet gaudere de animæ ejus in immortalitate ſuſceptæ hoc ſigno auditu, quàm luctum facere: ſed eamus ad Eccleſiam, & pro tam cariſſimo amico ſalutares hoſtias Domino immolare ſtudeamus. Finito itaque fraternæ commemorationis obſequio, *&c. Ibid.*

I diſpute not of the Credit of theſe particular Paſſages; it is ſufficient, that the Authors from whom we have received them, lived within the compaſs of thoſe times, whereof we now do treat. For thereby it is plain enough (and if it be not, it ſhall elſewhere be made yet more plain) that in thoſe elder days it was

was an uſual thing, to make Prayers and Oblations for the Reſt of thoſe Souls, which were not doubted to have been in Glory: and conſequently, that neither the *Commemoration* nor the *Praying for the Dead*, nor the *Requiem Maſſes* of that Age, have any neceſſary relation to the belief of *Purgatory*. The Leſſon therefore, which *Claudius* teacheth us here out of Saint *Hierom*, is very good: that [m] *while we are in this preſent world, we may be able to help one another, either by our Prayers or by our Counſels: but when we ſhall come before the Judgment ſeat of Chriſt, neither* Job, *nor* Daniel, *nor* Noah, *can intreat for any one, but every one muſt bear his own Burden.* And the Advice, which the no leſs learned than goodly Abbot *Columbanus* giveth us, is very ſafe: not to pitch upon Uncertainties hereafter, but now to *truſt in God, and follow the Precepts of Chriſt; while our Life doth yet remain, and while the times, wherein we may obtain Salvation, are certain.*

[m] Dum in præſenti ſeculo ſumus, ſive orationibus, ſive conſiliis invicem poſſe nos adjuvari: cùm autem ante tribunal Chriſti venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noe, rogare poſſe pro quoquam; ſed unumquemque portare onus ſuum. *Claud. in Gal.* 6.

Vive Deo fidens (ſaith [n] he) *Chriſti præcepta ſequendo;*
Dum modo vita manet, dum tempora certa ſalutis.

[n] *Columban. in epiſt. ad Hunaldum.*

Whereunto *John* the Briton (another Son of *Sulgen Biſhop of St. David's*) ſeemeth alſo to have an Eye, when (at the end of the Poem which he wrote of his own and his Fathers Life) he prayeth for himſelf in the ſame manner:

Ut genitor clemens ſolitâ pietate remittat
Factis aut dictis quæ geſſi corde nefando;
Dum mihi vita manet, dum flendi flumina poſſunt.
Nam cum tartareis nullius cura ſubintrat.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Worſhip of God, the publick Form of Liturgy, the Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

TOuching the Worſhip of God, *Sedulius* delivereth this general Rule: that [a] *to adore any other beſide the Father, and*

[a] Adorare alium præter Patrem & Filium, & Spiritum ſanctum, impietatis crimen eſt. *Sedul. in Rom.* 1.

the

the Son and the holy Ghoſt, is the Crime of Impiety; and that b *all that the Soul oweth unto God, if it beſtow it upon any beſide God, it committeth Adultery.* More particularly, in the matter of *Images*, c he reproveth the wiſe Men of the heathen, for thinking that they had found out a way, *how the inviſible God might be worſhipped by a viſible Image*: with whom alſo accordeth *Claudius*; that d God is to be *known neither in Mettal nor in Stone.* And for *Oaths*, there is a Canon aſcribed to St. *Patrick*; wherein it is determined, that e *no Creature is to be ſworn by, but only the Creator.* As for the form of the *Liturgy*, or publick ſervice of God, which the ſame St. *Patrick*, brought into this Country: it is ſaid, that he received it from *Germanus* and *Lupus*; and that it originally deſcended from St. *Mark* the Evangeliſt. For ſo have I ſeen it ſet down in an ancient Fragment, written well nigh 900. Years ſince, remaining now in the Library of Sir *Robert Cotton*, my worthy Friend; who can never ſufficiently be commended, for his extraordinary Care, in preſerving all rare Monuments of this kind. Yea St. *Hierome's* authority is there vouched for proof hereof. *Beatus Hieronymus adſirmat*, quod *ipſum curſum, qui dicitur præſente tempore Scottorum beatus Marcus decantavit.* Which being not now to be found in any of St. *Hierome's* works, the truth thereof I leave unto the Credit of the Reporter.

b Totum quod debet Deo anima, ſi alicui præter Deum reddiderit, mœchatur. *Id. in Rom.* 2.

c Recedentes à lumine veritatis ſapientes; quaſi qui inveniſſent, quo modo inviſibilis Deus per ſimulacrum viſibile coleretur. *Id. in Rom.* 1.

d Deus non in manufactis habitat, nec in metallo aut ſaxo cognoſcitur. *Claud. lib.* 2. *in Mat.*

e Non adjurandam eſſe creaturam aliam, niſi creatorem. *Synod. Patricii can.* 23. *M. S.*

But whatſoever *Liturgy* was uſed here at firſt: this is ſure, that in the ſucceeding Ages no one general Form of divine Service was retained, but divers Rites and Manners of Celebrations were obſerved in divers parts of this Kingdom; until the *Romane* uſe was brought in at laſt by *Gillebertus*, and *Malachias*, and *Chriſtianus*, who were the Popes Legates here about 500. Years ago. This *Gillebertus* (an old acquaintance of f *Anſelm*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) in the Prologue of his Book *De uſu Eccleſiaſtico*, directed to the whole Clergy of *Ireland*, writeth in this manner. g *At the requeſt, yea and at the command of many of you*

f *Anſelm. lib.* 3. *epiſt.* 143.

g Epiſcopis, presbyteris totius Hiberniæ, infimus præſulum Gillebertus Lunicenſis in Chriſto ſalutem. Rogatu, nec non & præcepto multorum ex vobis (Chariſſimi) canonicalem conſuetudinem in dicendis Horis, & peragendo totius Eccleſiaſtici ordinis officio, ſcribere conatus ſum, non præſumptivo, ſed veſtræ cupiens piiſſimæ ſervire juſſioni: ut diverſi & ſchiſmatici illi Ordines, quibus Hibernia penè tota deluſa eſt, uni Catholico & Romano cedant officio. Quid enim magis indecens aut ſchiſmaticum dici poterit; quàm doctiſſimum unius ordinis in alterius Eccleſiæ idiotam & laicum fieri? &c. *Prolog. Gille ſive Gilberti Lunicenſis epiſc. de uſu Eccleſiaſtic. M. S. in Colleg. S. Benedicti.* & publicâ Academiæ Cantabrigienſis Bibliothecâ.

(*dearly*

(dearly beloved) I endeavoured to ſet down in writing the Canonical Cuſtom in ſaying of Hours and performing the Office of the whole Eccleſiaſtical Order; not preſumptuouſly, but in deſire to ſerve your moſt godly command: To the end that thoſe divers and ſchiſmatical Orders, wherewith in a manner all Ireland *is deluded, may give place to one Catholick and Roman Office. For what may be ſaid to be more undecent or ſchiſmatical; than that the moſt learned in one Order, ſhould be made as a private and lay Man in another Mans Church?*

Theſe beginnings were preſently ſeconded by *Malachias*: in whoſe Life, written by *Bernard*, we read as followeth. h *The Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, and the Decrees of the holy Fathers, but eſpecially the Cuſtoms of the holy Church of* Rome, *did he eſtabliſh in all Churches. And hence it is, that at this day the Canonical Hours are chanted and ſung therein, according to the manner of the whole Earth: whereas before that, this was not done, no not in the City it ſelf* (the poor City, of *Ardmagh* he meaneth.) *But Malachias had learned ſong in his youth, and ſhortly after cauſed ſinging to be uſed in his own Monaſtery; when as yet, as well in the City as in the whole Biſhoprick, they either knew not, or would not ſing.* Laſtly the work was brought to perfection, when *Chriſtianus* Biſhop of *Liſmore*, as Legate to the Pope, was Preſident in the Council of *Caſhel*: wherein a ſpecial Order was taken for i *the right ſinging of the Eccleſiaſtical Office*; and a general Act eſtabliſhed, that k *all divine Offices of holy Church ſhould from thenceforth be handled in all Parts of* Ireland, *according as the Church of* England *did obſerve them.* The ſtatutes of which Council were l confirmed by the Regal *Authority* of King *Henry* the *ſecond*: m by whoſe *mandate*, the Biſhops that met therein were aſſembled, in the Year of our Lord 1171. as *Giraldus Cambrenſis* witneſſeth, in his Hiſtory of the Conqueſt of *Ireland*. And thus late was it, before the *Roman* uſe was fully ſettled in this Kingdom.

h Apoſtolicas ſanctiones ac decreta ſanctorum patrum, præcipueque conſuetudines ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ in cunctis Eccleſiis ſtatuebat. Hinc eſt quòd hodieque in illis ad horas canonicas cantatur & pſallitur juxta morem univerſæ terræ: nam minimè id antè fiebat, ne in civitate quidem. Ipſe verò in adoleſcentia cantum didicerat, & in ſuo cœnobio mox cantari fecit; cùm necdum in civitate ſeu in Epiſcopatu univerſo cantare ſcirent, vel vellent. *Bernard in vitâ Malachiæ.* i Officium etiam Eccleſiaſticum ritè modulandum ſtatuerunt. *Joban. Brampton, in Joralenenſi hiſtoriâ. M. S.* k Omnia divina ad inſtar ſacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ, juxta quod Anglicana obſervat Eccleſia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ amodo tractentur. *Girald. Cambr. Hibern. expugnat. lib. 1. cap.* 34. l Concilii ſtatuta ſubſcripta ſunt, & Regiæ ſublimitatis authoritate firmata. *Id. ibid.* m Ex ipſius triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Caſſilienſi convenerunt. *Id. ibid.*

That the *Britons* uſed another manner in the Adminiſtration of the Sacrament of *Baptiſm*, than the *Romans* did: appeareth by the Propoſition made unto them by *Auſtin* the Monk; n *That they ſhould perform the Miniſtery of Baptiſm, according to the Cuſtom of the Church of* Rome. That their Form of *Liturgy* was the ſame with that which was received by their neighbours the *Galls*, is intimated by the Author of that ancient Fragment before alledged; who alſo addeth, that the o *Gallican Order was received in the Church throughout the whole World.* Yet elſewhere do I meet with a Sentence alledged out of *Gildas*; that p *the Britons were contrary to the whole world, and Enemies to the Roman Cuſtoms*, as well in their *Maſs*, as in their *Tonſure*.

n Ut miniſterium baptizandi, quo Deo renaſcimur, juxta morem ſanctæ Romanæ & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ compleatis. *Bed. lib. 2. hiſtor. cap. 2.*

o Per univerſum orbem terrarum, in Eccleſia ordo curſus Gallorum diffuſus eſt. *Fragmnt. de Eccleſiaſticorum Officiorum origine M. S. Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.* p *Gildas ait*, Britones toti mundo contrarii, moribus Romanis inimici non ſolùm in Miſſa, ſed etiam in Tonſura. *Cod. Canonum. titulorum 66. M. S. in eâdem Bibliothecâ.*

Where to let paſs what I have collected touching the difference of theſe *Tonſures* (as a matter of very ſmall moment either way) and ſo to ſpeak ſomewhat of the *Maſs* (for which ſo great ado is now a-days made by our Romaniſts) we may obſerve in the firſt place, that the publick *Liturgy* or Service of the Church, was of old named the *Maſs*: even then alſo, when Prayers only were ſaid, without the Celebration of the holy Communion. So the laſt *Maſs* that St. *Colme* was ever preſent at, is noted by q *Adamnanus* to have been *veſpertinalis Dominicæ noctis Miſſa.* He dyed the *mid-night* following; whence the Lords Day took his beginning (*9th. viz. Junii, Anno dom.* 597.) according to the Account of the Romans: which the *Scotiſh* and *Iriſh* ſeem to have begun from the *Evening* going before, and then was that *evening Maſs* ſaid: which in all likelihood, differed not from thoſe ἑσπερινὰ μέλη mentioned by r *Leo* the Emperor in his *Tacticks*, that is to ſay, from that which we call *Even-Song*, or *Evening-Prayer*. But the name of the *Maſs*, was in thoſe days more ſpecially applyed to the Adminiſtration of the Lord's Supper: and therefore in the ſame f *Adamnanus* we ſee that *Sacra Euchariſtiæ miniſteria* and *Miſſarum ſolemnia*, the *ſacred Miniſtery of the Euchariſt*, and *the Solemnities of the Maſs*, are taken or the ſame thing. So likewiſe in the t Relation of the paſſages that concern the Obſequies of *Columbanus*, performed by *Gallus* and *Magnoaldus*; we find that *Miſſam celebrare* and *Miſſas agere*, is made to be the ſame with *Divina celebrare myſteria*

q *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap. 31.*

r *Leon Tactic. cap. 11. ſect. 18.*

f *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 3. cap 15.*

t *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 26. Theodor. Campidonenſ. vel quicunq; author fuit. Vit. Magni, lib. 1. cap. 9. edit. Goldaſt. cap. 12. Caniſii.*

and

and *salutis hostiam* (or *salutare sacrificium immolare*: the saying of *Masse*, the same with the *Celebration of the Divine Mysteries* and the *Oblation of the healthful Sacrifice*, for by that term was the Administration of the *Sacrament Lord's of the Supper* at that time usually designed.

For as in our u Beneficence, and communicating unto the necessities of the Poor (which are *Sacrifices* wherewith God is well pleased) we are taught to x give both our selves and our Alms, first unto the Lord, and after unto our Brethren by the will of God: so is it in this Ministery of the blessed Sacrament. The Service is first presented unto God, (from which, as from a most principal Part of the Duty, the Sacrament it self is called the *Eucharist*; because therein we y offer a special Sacrifice of Praise and Thanksgiving always unto God) and then communicated to the use of Gods people. In the performance of which part of the Service, both the Minister was said to *give*, and the Communicant to *receive the Sacrifice*: as well as in respect of the former part, they were said to *offer* the same unto the Lord. For they did not distinguish the *Sacrifice* from the *Sacrament*; as the Romanists do now a-days: but used the name of *Sacrifice* indifferently, both of that which was *offered* unto God, and of that which was *given* to and *received* by the Communicant. Therefore we read of *offering the Sacrifice* to God: as in that Speech of *Gallus* to his Scholar *Magnoaldus*, z *My Master* Columbanus *is accustomed to offer unto the Lord the Sacrifice of Salvation in brasen Vessels.* Of *giving the Sacrifice* to Man: as when it is said in one of the ancient Synods of *Ireland*, that a Bishop by his Testament may bequeath a certain proportion of his Goods, for a Legacy *to the Priest that giveth him the Sacrifice*, and of *receiving the Sacrifice* from the hands of the Minister: as in that Sentence of the Synod attributed unto St. *Patrick*; b *He who deserveth not to receive the Sacrifice in his life, how can it help him after his death?* and in that Glosse of *Sedulius* upon 1 Cor. 11. 33. c *Tarry one for another*, that is, (saith he) *until you do receive the Sacrifice.* And in the *British* Antiquities: where we read of *Amon* a noble Man in *Wales* (Father to *Samson* the Saint of *Dole* in little *Britain*) that d *being taken with a grievous sickness, he was admonished by his*

u *Heb.* 13. 16.

x 2 *Cor.* 5. 8.

y *Heb.* 13. 15.

z Præceptor meus B. Columbanus in vasis æneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis. *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib.* 1. *cap.* 19.

a Testamentum Episcopi sive principis est; 10. scripuli Sacerdoti dandi sint sacrificium. *Synod. Hibern. in vet. lib. Canonum Cottoniano, titulorum* 66.

b Qui in vitâ suâ non meretur sacrificium accipere: quomodo post mortem illi potest adjuvare? *Synod. Patric. cap.* 12. *M. S.*

c Invicem expectate, id est, usque quo sacrificium accipiatis. *Sedul. in* 1 *Cor.* 11.

d Gravi infirmitate depressus, à suis commonitus est vicinis, ut juxta morem susciperet sacrificium communionis. *Ex vitâ S. Samsonis M. S. in libro Landavensis Ecclesiæ vocat.* Tilo.

Neighbours, that according to the usual manner he should receive the Sacrifice of the Communion. Whereby it doth appear, that the *Sacrifice* of the Elder times was like not unto the new *Mass* of the Romanists, wherein the Priest alone doth all; but unto our *Communion*, where others also have free liberty given unto them to eat of the Altar, as well as they that serve the Altar.

e *Hebr.* 13. 10.

Again, they that are Communicants in the Romish *Sacrament*, receive the Eucharist in one kind only: the Priest in offering of the *Sacrifice* receiveth the same distinctly, both by way of Meat, and by way of Drink; which they tell us f is chiefly done, *for the Integrity of the Sacrifice, and not of the Sacrament.* For in the *Sacrifice*, they say, g *the several Elements be consecrated, not into Christs whole Person as it was born of the Virgin, or now is in Heaven: but the Bread into his Body apart, as betrayed, broken, and given for us; the Wine into his Blood apart, as shed out of his Body for Remission of Sins, and dedication of the new Testament, which be Conditions of his Person, as he was in Sacrifice and Oblation.* But our Ancestours, in the use of their *Sacrament*, received the Eucharist in both kinds: not being so acute as to discern betwixt the things that belonged unto the Integrity of the *Sacrifice*, and of the *Sacrament*; because in very truth, they took the one to be the other.

f Id fit potissimùm ob Sacrificii, non ob Sacramenti Integritatem. *Bellarmin. de sacrament. Eucharist. lib. 4. cap. 29. in fine.*

g *Rhem. annotat. in Matth.* 26. 26.

Thus *Bede* relateth, that one *Hildmer*, an Officer of *Egfrid* King of *Northumberland*, intreated our *Cuthbert* h to send a Priest that might *minister the Sacraments of the Lords Body and Blood* unto his Wife, that then lay a dying: and *Cuthbert* himself, immediately before his own departure out of this life, received the *Communion of the Lords Body and Blood*; as i *Herefride* Abbat of the Monastery of *Lendisfarne* (who was the Man that at that time ministred the Sacrament unto him) made report unto the same *Bede*. Who elsewhere also particularly noteth, that he then tasted of the *Cup*.

h Mittas presbyterium qui illam priusquam moriatur, visitet; eique Dominici corporis & sanguinis sacramenta ministret. *Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. prof. cap.* 15.

i Accepti corporis & sanguinis communione munivit. *Ibid. cap.* 39.

k *Pocula degustat vitæ, Christique supinum*
Sanguine ministrat.

h *Bed. de Vit. Cuthbert. carm. cap.* 36.

Lest any man should think, that under the forms of *Bread* alone, he might be said to have been partaker of the *Body* and

Blood of the Lord, by way of *Concomitance:* which is a Toy, that was not once dreamed of in thoſe days. So that we need not to doubt, what is meant by that which we read in the Book of the life of *Furſeus* (which was written before the time of *Bede*) that [l] *he received the Communion of the Holy Body and Blood*; and that he was wiſhed to admoniſh [m] the Paſtors of the Church, that they ſhould ſtrengthen the Souls of the faithful *with the Spiritual Food of Doctrine, and the Participation of the holy Body and Blood.* Or of that which *Cogitoſus* writeth in the Life of St. *Bridget*, touching the place in the Church of *Kildare*; [n] whereunto the Abbateſs with her Maidens and Widows uſed to reſort, *that they might enjoy the Banquet of the Body and Blood of Jeſus Chriſt.* Which was agreeable to the practice, not only of the Nunneries founded beyond the Seas, according to the Rule of *Columbanus*; where the Virgins [o] *received the Body of the Lord, and ſipped his Blood* (as appeareth by that which *Jonas* relateth of *Domna*, in the life of *Burgundofora*:) but alſo of St. *Bridget* her ſelf who was the Foundreſs of the Monaſtery of *Kildare*; one of whoſe Miracles is reported, even in the latter Legends, to have happened when ſhe was about to *drink out of the Chalice*, at the time of her receiving of the *Euchariſt.* Which they that liſt to look after, may find in the Collections of *Capgrave*, *Surius* and ſuch like.

l Petivitque & accepit ſacri corporis & ſanguinis communionem. *Author antiqu. Vitæ Furſei.*

m Principes & Doctores Eccleſiæ Chriſti, animas fidelium ad pœnitentiæ lamentum poſt culpas provocent, & eas ſpirituali paſtu doctrinæ, ac ſacri corporis & ſanguinis participatione ſolidas reddant. *Ibid.*

n Per alterum oſtium Abbatiſſa cum ſuis puellis & viduis fidelibus tantùm iverat, (*leg.* intrat) ut convivio corporis & ſanguinis fruantur Jeſu Chriſti. *Cogitoſ. vit. Brigid.* o Quædam ex his nomine Domna, cùm jam corpus Domini accepiſſet, ac ſanguinem libâſſet. *Jon. Vit. Burgundof.*

But, you will ſay, theſe teſtimonies that have been alledged, make not ſo much for us, in proving the uſe of the *Communion under both kinds*, as they make againſt us, in confirming the Opinion of *Tranſubſtantiation*: ſeeing they all ſpecifie the receiving, not of *Bread* and *Wine*, but of the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt*. I anſwer, that foraſmuch as *Chriſt* himſelf, at the firſt inſtitution of his holy Supper, did ſay expreſly; *This is my Body*, and, *This is my Blood*: he deſerveth not the name of a *Chriſtian*, that will queſtion the truth of that ſaying, or refuſe to ſpeak in that language, which he hath heard his Lord and Maſter uſe before him. The queſtion only is, in what Senſe and after what Manner, theſe things muſt be conceived to be his *Body* and *Blood*. Of which there needed to be little queſtion: if men

would.

would be pleased to take into their Consideration these two things; which were never doubted of by the Ancient, and have most evident Ground in the context of the Gospel. *First*, that the *Subject* of those Sacramental Propositions delivered by our Saviour (that is to say, the demonstrative particle THIS) can have reference to no other Substance, but that which he then held in his sacred Hands, namely, *Bread* and *Wine*: which are of so different a nature from the *Body* and *Blood of Christ*, that the one cannot possibly in *proper* Sense be said to be the other; as the light of common Reason doth force the Romanists themselves to confess. *Secondly*, that in the *Predicate*, or latter part of the same Propositions, there is not mention made only of *Christ's Body* and *Blood*; but of his *Body broken*, and his *Blood shed*: to shew, that his *Body* is to be considered here apart, not *as it was born of the Virgin, or now is in Heaven*, but as it was *broken* and crucified for us; and his *Blood* likewise apart, not as running in his Veins, but *as shed out of his Body*; which the *Rhemists* have told us to be *conditions of his Person, as he was in Sacrifice and Oblation*.

And lest we should imagine, that his Body were otherwise to be considered in the *Sacrament* than in the *Sacrifice*; in the one *alive*, as it is in Heaven, in the other *dead*, as it was offered upon the Cross: the Apostle putteth the matter out of doubt, that not only the Minister in offering, but also the People in receiving, even p *as often as they eat this Bread, and drink this Cup, do shew the Lords Death until he come*. Our Elders surely, that held the *Sacrifice* to be *given* and *received* (for so we have heard themselves speak) as well as *offered*; did not consider otherwise of *Christ* in the Sacrament, than *as he was in Sacrifice and Oblation*. If here therefore, *Christ's Body* be presented as broken and liveless, and his *Blood* as shed forth and severed from his Body; and it be most certain, that there are no such things now *really* existent any where (as is confessed on all hands:) then must it follow necessarily, that the Bread and Wine are not converted into these things *really*. The q *Rhemists* indeed tell us, that when the Church doth offer and sacrifice *Christ* daily; *he in Mystery and Sacrament dyeth*. Further than this they durst not go: for if they had said, he dyed *really*; they should thereby not only make themselves daily Killers of *Christ*, but also directly cross that Principle of the Apostle, Rom. 6. 9. *Christ being raised from the dead dyeth no more*. If then the body of *Christ*, in the Administration of the *Eucharist*, be pro-

p 1 Cor. 11. 26.

q *Rhem. in Mat. 26. 26.*

propounded as *dead* (as hath been shewed) and die it cannot *really*, but only in *Mystery and Sacrament*: how can it be thought to be contained under the outward Elements, otherwise than *in Sacrament and Mystery*? And such as in times past were said to have received the *Sacrifice* from the hand of the Priest; what other *Body* and *Blood* could they expect to receive therein, but such as was futable to the nature of that Sacrifice, to wit, *mystical and sacramental*?

Cœlius Sedulius (to whom *Gelasius* Bishop of *Rome*, with his Synod of LXX. Bishops, giveth the Title of [r] *venerable Sedulius*; as *Venantius Fortunatus* of [s] *conspicuous Sedulius*; and *Hildephonsus Toletanus* of the [t] *good Sedulius, the Evangelical Poet, the eloquent Orator, and the Catholick Writer*) is by *Trithemius* and others supposed to be the same with our [u] *Sedulius* of *Scotland* (or *Ireland*) whose Collections are extant upon St. *Pauls* Epistles: although I have forborn hitherto to use any of his Testimonies, because I have some reason to doubt, whether he were the same with our *Sedulius* or no. But *Cœlius Sedulius* (whatsoever Countryman he was) intimateth plainly, that the things offered in the Christian Sacrifice are *the Fruit of the Corn and of the Vine*.

[r] Venerabilis viri Sedulii Paschale opus, quod heroicis descripsit versibus, insigni laude præferimus. *Synod. Roman. sub Gelasio.*

[s] Hinc quoque conspicui radiavit lingua Seduli. *Venant. Fortunat. de vitâ S. Martini, lib.* 1.

[t] Bonus Sedulius, poeta Evangelicus, Orator facundus, scriptor catholicus. *Hildephons. Toletan. serm* 5. *de assumpt. Mariæ.*

[u] Sedulii Scoti Hiberniensis, in omnes Epistolas Pauli Collectan. *excus. Basil. an.* 1528.

[x] *Denique Pontificum princeps, summusque Sacerdos*
Quis nisi Christus adest? gemini libaminis author,
Ordine Melchisedech, *cui dantur munera semper*
Quæ sua sunt, segetis fructus, & gaudia vitis.

[x] *Sedul. Carm Paschal. lib.* 4.

Or, as he expresseth it in his Prose; [y] *the sweet meat of the seed of Wheat, and the lovely drink of the pleasant Vine.* Of *Melchisedeck* (according to whose order *Christ*, and he only was Priest) our own *Sedulius* writeth thus: [z] *Melchisedeck offered Wine and Bread to* Abraham *for a figure of Christ, offering his Body and Blood unto God his Father upon the Cross.* Where note, that first he saith, *Melchisedeck* offered Bread and Wine to *Abraham*,

[y] Triticeæ sementis cibus suavis, & amœnæ vitis potus amabilis. *Id. prosa lib.* 4. *cap.* 14.

[z] Melchizedech vinum & panem obtulit Abraham, in figuram Christi, corpus & sanguinem suum Deo patri in cruce offerentis. *Sedul. in Heb.* 5.

not

not to *God*: and *ſecondly*, that he was a figure of *Chriſt* offering his Body and Blood *upon the Croſs*, not in the *Euchariſt*. But *we* (ſaith [a] he) *do offer daily, for a Commemoration of the Lord's Paſſion* (*once* performed) *and our own Salvation*. And elſewhere, expounding thoſe words of our Saviour, *Do this in remembrance of me*; he bringeth in this Similitude, uſed before and after him by others. [b] *He left a Memory of himſelf unto us: even as if one that were going a far Journey, ſhould leave ſome token with him whom he loved; that as oft as he beheld it, he might call to remembrance his Benefits and Friendſhip.*

[a] Nos verò in commemorationem Dominicæ ſemel paſſionis quotidie noſtræque ſalutis offerimus. *Id. in Heb.* 10.

[b] Suam memoriam nobis reliquit: quemadmodum ſi quis peregrè proficiſcens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit derelinquat; ut quotieſcunque illud viderit, poſſit ejus beneficia & amicitias recordari. *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* 11.

Claudius noteth, that our Saviour's [c] pleaſure was, firſt *to deliver unto his Diſciples the Sacrament of his Body and Blood; and afterwards to offer up the Body it ſelf upon the Altar of the Croſs*. Where at the firſt ſight I did verily think, that in the words *fractione corporis* an Error had been committed in my Tranſcript (*corporis* being miſ-written for *panis*) but afterwards comparing it with the Original, whence I took my Copy, I found that the Author retained the manner of Speaking uſed both before and after his time; in giving the name of the thing ſignified unto the Sign, even there where the direct Intention of the Speech was to diſtinguiſh the one from the other. For he doth expreſly diſtinguiſh *the Sacrament of the Body*, which was delivered unto the Diſciples, from *the Body it ſelf*, which was afterwards offered upon the Croſs: and for the ſacramental Relation betwixt them both, he rendreth this Reaſon: [f] *Becauſe Bread doth confirm the Body, and Wine doth work Blood in the fleſh: therefore the one is myſtically referred to the Body of Chriſt, the other to his Blood.* Which Doctrine of his (that the Sacrament is not in its own nature *Bread* and *Wine*, but the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt* by Myſtical Relation) was in effect the ſame, with that which long afterwards was here in *Ireland* delivered, by *Henry Crump* the

[c] Voluit ante Diſcipulis ſuis tradere ſacramentum corporis & ſanguinis ſui, quod ſignificavit in fractione corporis & effuſione calicis; & poſteà ipſum corpus immolari in ara Crucis. *Claud. lib.* 3. *in Matth.*

[e] Apud Ratramnum (ſive Bertramum) & Elfricum, paſſim.

[f] Quia panis corpus confirmat, vinum verò ſanguinem operatur in carne: hic ad corpus Chriſti myſticè illud refertur ad ſanguinem. *Id. ibid.*

Monk

Monk of *Baltinglas*, g that *the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar was only a Looking-glass to the Body of Christ in Heaven*: yea, and within fifty or threescore Years of the time of *Claudius Scotus* himself, was so fully maintained by *Johannes Scotus* in a Book that he purposely wrote of that Argument; that when it was alledged and extolled by *Berengarius*, Pope *Leo* (the *ninth*) with his Bishops assembled *in Synodo Vercellensi*, Anno Domini, 1050 (which was 235. Years after the time that *Claudius* wrote his Commentaries upon St. *Matthew*) had no other means to avoid it, but by fiat h condemning of it. Of what great esteem this *John* was with King *Alfred*, may be seen in *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Roger Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and other Writers of the English History. The King himself, in the Preface before his Saxon Translation of St. *Gregories* Pastoral, professeth that he was holpen in that work by i *John* his *Mass-priest*. By whom if he did mean this *John* of ours, you may see, how in those days, a man might beheld a *Mass-priest*, who was far enough from thinking that he offered up the very *Body* and *Blood* of *Christ*, really present under the forms of Bread and Wine; which is the only *Mass* that our Romanists take knowledge of.

g Quòd corpus Christi in altaris sacramento est solum speculum ad corpus Christi in cœlo. *Ex Actis willielmi Andreæ Midensis Episcopi contra Henr. Crumpe, anno* 1384. *quæ M. S. habeo.*

h Johannis Scoti liber de Eucharistiâ lectus est, ac damnatus. *Lanfranc. de Eucharist. contr. Berengar.*

i Johanne mjnum

mærre pneor ⁊. *Ælfred. præfat. in Gregor. Pastoral. Saxonic.*

Of which wonderful Point how ignorant our Elders were, even this also may be one Argument: that the Author of the Book *of the wonderful things of the holy Scripture* (before alledged) passeth this quite over, which is now esteemed to be the Wonder of all Wonders. And yet doth he profess, that he k *purposed to pass over nothing of the wonders of the Scripture, wherein they might seem notably to swerve from the ordinary Administration in other things.*

k Præsertim cùm ex mirabilibus Scripturæ Dominicæ nil præterire disposui, in quibus à ministerio quotidiano excellere in aliis videntur. *Lib. 2. de mirabilib. Scriptur. cap. 21.*

CHAP. V.

Of Chrism, Sacramental Confession, Penance, Absolution, Matrimonie, Divorces, and single life in the Clergy.

That the *Irish* [a] did baptize their Infants without any consecrated *Chrism*, *Lanfranc* maketh complaint in his Letters to *Terdeluacus* (or *Tirlagh*) the chief King of that Country. And *Bernard* reporteth, that *Malachias* in his time (which was after the days of *Lanfranc* and Pope *Hildebrand*) did [b] *of the new institute the most wholsom use of Confession, the Sacrament of Confirmation, and the contract of Marriages: all which* he saith the *Irish* before were *either ignorant of, or did neglect*. Which, for the matter of *Confession*, may receive some further Confirmation from the Testimony of *Alcuinus*; who writing unto the *Scotish* (or, as other Copies read, the *Gothish*) and commending the religious Conversation of their Laity, who [c] *in the midst of their worldly Imployments were said to lead a most chaste Life*; condemneth notwithstanding another Custom, which was said to have continued in that Country. For [d] *it is said* (quoth he) *that no man of the Laity will make his Confession to the Priests; whom we believe to have received from the Lord Christ the power of binding and loosing, together with the holy Apostles.*

[a] Quod infantes baptismo sine Chrismate consecrato baptizantur. *Lanfranc. Epist. ad S. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana: & apud Baron. an. 1089. num. 16. ubi tamen* sive *male habetur pro* sine

[b] Usum salutarrimum Confessionis, sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum Conjugiorum (quæ omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) Malachias de novo instituit. *Bernard. in vita Malachiæ.*

[c] Inter mundanas occupationes castissimam vitam rationabili consideratione degere dicuntur. *Alcuin. Epist. 26. edit. H. Canisii, p. 1. Andreæ Quercetani.*

[d] Dicitur verò neminem ex Laicis suam velle Confessionem sacerdotibus dare: quos à Deo Christo cum sanctis Apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus. *Ibid.*

They had no reason indeed to hold (as *Alcuinus* did) that they ought to confess unto a Priest all the Sins they could remember: but upon special Occasions, they did (no doubt) both publickly and privately make Confession of their Faults; as well that they might receive Counsel and Direction for their Recovery, as that they might be made partakers of the Benefit of the Keys, for the quieting of their troubled Consciences. Whatsoever the *Gothish* did herein (by whom we are to understand the Inhabitants of *Lan-*

Languedoc in *France*, where *Alcuinus* lived) ſure we are, that this was the practice of the ancient *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh*. So we read of one *Finchua* or *Fechnanus*, that being touched with Remorſe for ſome Offence committed by him, he fell at St. *Colmes* feet, lamented bitterly, and e *confeſſed his Sins before all that were there preſent.* Whereupon the holy Man, weeping together with him, is ſaid to have returned this Anſwer: f *Riſe up, Son, and be comforted, thy Sins which thou haſt committed are forgiven; becauſe (as it is written) a contrite and an humbled Heart God doth not deſpiſe.* We read alſo of *Adamnanus*, that being very much terrified with the remembrance of a grievous Sin committed by him in his Youth; he g *reſorted unto a Prieſt, by whom he hoped the way of Salvation might be ſhewed unto him, he confeſſed his Guilt, and intreated that he would give him Counſel, whereby he might flee from the Wrath of God that was to come.*

e Coram omnibus qui ibidem erant peccata ſua confeſſus eſt. *Adamnan. vit. Columb lib. 1. cap. 16. (vel 20. in M. S.)*

f Surge fili, & conſolare: dimiſſa ſunt tua, quæ commiſiſti, peccamina, quia ſicut ſcriptum eſt; Cor contritum & humiliatum Deus non ſpernit. *Ibid.*

g Accedens ad ſacerdotem, à quo ſibi ſperabat iter ſalutis poſſe demonſtrari; confeſſus eſt reatum ſuum, petiitque ut conſilium ſibi daret, quo poſſet fugere à ventura Dei ira. *Bed. lib. 4. hiſtor. cap. 25.*

Now the Counſel commonly given unto the Penitent after Confeſſion, was; that he ſhould h *wipe away his Sins by meet Fruits of Repentance*: which courſe *Bede* obſerveth to have been uſually preſcribed by our *Cuthbert*. For *Penances* were then exacted, as Teſtimonies of the Sincerity of that inward Repentance which was neceſſarily required for obtaining Remiſſion of the Sin: and ſo had reference to the taking away of the Guilt, and not of the temporal Puniſhment remaining after the forgiveneſs of the Guilt; which is the new-found uſe of Penances, invented by our latter Romaniſts. One old Penitential Canon we find laid down in a Synod held in this Country about the Year of our Lord CCCCh. by St. *Patrick*, *Auxilius*, and *Iſſernimus*: which is as followeth. i *A Chriſtian who hath killed a Man, or committed Fornication, or gone unto a Southſayer after the manner of the Gentiles, for every of thoſe Crimes ſhall do a year of Penance: when his year of Penance is accompliſhed, he ſhall come with Witneſſes, and afterward he ſhall be abſolved by the Prieſt.* Theſe Biſhops did take order

h Confeſſa dignis (ut imperabat) pœnitentiæ fructibus abſtergerent. *Id. ibid. cap. 27.*

i Chriſtianus qui occiderit, aut fornicationem fecerit, aut more Gentilium ad aruſpicem meaverit; per ſingula crimina annum pœnitentiæ agat, impleto cum teſtibus veniat anno Pœnitentiæ, & poſtea reſolvetur à ſacerdote. *Synod. Patricii, Auxilii & Iſſernini M. S. in Bibliothecâ Collegii Benedict. Cantabrig.*

(we ſee) according to the Diſcipline generally uſed in thoſe times, that the Penance ſhould firſt be performed; and when long and good proof had been given by that means of the truth of the parties Repentance, they wiſhed the Prieſt to impart unto him the Benefit of *Abſolution*. Whereas by the new Device of ſacramental Penance, the matter is now far more eaſily tranſacted: by vertue of the Keys the ſinner is inſtantly of *attrite* made *contrite*, and thereupon as ſoon as he hath made his *Confeſſion*, he preſently receiveth his *Abſolution*: after this, ſome ſorry *Penance* is impoſed, which upon better Conſideration may be converted into *pence*; and ſo a quick end is made of many a foul Buſineſs.

But for the right uſe of the Keys, we fully accord with *Claudius*: that [k] *the office* of remitting and retaining ſins which was given unto the Apoſtles, *is now in the Biſhops and Prieſts committed unto every Church. Namely, that having taken knowledge of the Cauſes of ſuch as have ſinned, as many as they ſhall behold humble and truly penitent, thoſe they may now with Compaſſion abſolve from the fear of everlaſting Death; but ſuch as they ſhall diſcern to perſiſt in the ſins which they have committed, thoſe they may declare to be bound over unto never-ending Puniſhments.* And in thus abſolving ſuch as be truly penitent, we willingly yield, that the Paſtors of Gods Church do *remit ſins after* their manner, that is to ſay, miniſterially and improperly: ſo that the Priviledge of forgiving ſins properly and abſolutely, be ſtill reſerved unto God alone. Which is at large ſet out by the ſame *Claudius*, where he expoundeth the hiſtory of the Man ſick of the Palſey, that was cured by our Saviour in the ninth of St. *Matthew*. For, following *Bede* upon that place, he writeth thus: [l] *The Scribes ſay true, that none can forgive Sins but God alone; who alſo forgiveth by them, to whom he hath given the Power of forgiving. And therefore is Chriſt proved to be truly God, becauſe he forgiveth ſins as God. They render a true Teſtimony unto God: but in denying*

k Necnon etiam nunc in Epiſcopis ac Presbyteris omni Eccleſiæ officium idem committur: ut videlicèt agnitis peccantium cauſis, quoſcunque humiles ac verè pœnitentes aſpexerint, hos jam à timore perpetuæ mortis miſerantes abſolvant; quos verò in peccatis quæ egerint perſiſtere cognoverint, illos perennibus ſupplitiis obligandos infinuent. *Claud. in Matth. lib. 2.*

l Verum dicunt Scribæ, quia nemo dimittere peccata niſi ſolus Deus poteſt; qui per eos quoque dimittit, quibus dimittendi tribuit poteſtatem. Et ideò Chriſtus verè Deus eſſe probatur; quia dimittere peccata quaſi Deus poteſt. Verum Deo teſtimonium reddunt; ſed perſonam Chriſti negando ſilluntur. *Id. in Matth. lib. 1.*

the perſon of Chriſt, they are deceived. And again, m *If it be God that, according to the Pſalmiſt, removeth our ſins as far from us, as the Eaſt is diſtant from the Weſt; and the Son of man hath power upon Earth to forgive Sins: therefore he himſelf is both God and the Son of Man. That both the Man Chriſt might by the Power of his Divinity forgive ſins; and the ſame Chriſt being God, might by the frailty of his Humanity die for Sinners.* And out of St. *Hierome*: n Chriſt *ſheweth himſelf to be God, who can know the hidden things of the Heart; and after a ſort holding his peace he ſpeaketh: By the ſame Majeſty and Power, whereby I behold your Thoughts, I can alſo forgive ſins unto men.* In like manner doth the Author of the Book *of the wonderful things of the Scripture* obſerve theſe o *divine Works* in the ſame Hiſtory: *the forgiving of Sins, the preſent cure of the Diſeaſe, and the anſwering of the thoughts by the mouth of God who ſearcheth all things.* With whom, for the property of beholding the ſecret Thoughts, *Sedulius* alſo doth concur, in thoſe Sentences; p *God alone can know the hidden things of men.* q *To know the Hearts of Men, and to diſcern the ſecrets of their mind, is the priviledge of God alone.*

m Si & Deus eſt, juxta Pſalmiſtam, qui quantum diſtat Oriens ab Occaſu elongavit à nobis iniquitates noſtras; & filius hominis poteſtatem habet in terrâ dimittendi peccata: ergò idem ipſe & Deus & filius hominis eſt, ut & homo Chriſtus per divinitatis ſuæ potentiam peccata dimittere poſſit; & idem Deus Chriſtus per humanitatis ſuæ fragilitatem pro peccatoribus mori. *Ibid.* n Oſtendit ſe Deum, qui poteſt cordis occulta cognoſcere; & quodammodo tacens loquitur. Eadem majeſtate & potentiâ quâ cogitationes veſtras intueor, poſſum & hominibus delicta dimittere. *Ibid.* o In paralytico à quatuor viris portato, quatuor divina opera cernuntur. Dum dimittuntur ei peccata, & præſentis ægritudinis plaga verbo tunc ſolvitur, & cogitationibus in ore Dei omnia ſcrutantis reſponderet. *Auct. lib. de Mirabilib. S. Scriptur. lib.* 3. *cap.* 7. p Deus ſolus poteſt occulta hominum ſcire. *Sedul. in Rom.* 2. q Corda hominum nôſſe ſolius Dei eſt, & mentis ſecreta agnoſcere. *Id. ibid.*

That the *Contract of Marriages*, was either unknown or neglected by the *Iriſh*, before *Malachias* did inſtitute the ſame anew among them (as *Bernard* doth ſeem to intimate) is a thing almoſt incredible. Although r *Giraldus Cambrenſis* doth complain, that the Caſe was little better with them after the time of *Malachias* alſo. The Licentiouſneſs of thoſe ruder times, I know, was ſuch as may eaſily induce us to believe, that a great both Neglect and Abuſe of God's Ordinance did get footing among this people. Which Enormities *Malachias*, no doubt, did labour to reform, and withal peradventure brought in ſome new matters, not known here before; as he was very

r Nondum decimas vel primitias ſolvunt: nondum matrimonia contrahunt; non inceſtus vitant. *Girald. Camb. Topograph. Hibern. diſtinct.* 3. *cap.* 19. *Vide etiam Lanfranci epiſt. ad Gothricum & Terdeluacum reges Hibern. apud Baronium an.* 1089. *num.* 13. & 16.

deſi-

desirous his Country-men should generally conform themselves unto the Traditions and Customs of the Church of *Rome*. But our purpose is here only to deal with the Doctrine and Practice of the elder times: in which, *first*, that Marriage was not held to be a *Sacrament*, may be collected from [s] *Sedulius*, who reckoneth it among those things, which are *Gifts indeed, but not spiritual*.

Secondly, For the *degrees of Consanguinity* hindering Marriage, the Synod attributed unto *St. Patrick* seemeth to refer us wholly unto the Levitical Law; prescribing therein [t] *neither less nor more than the Law speaketh*: and particularly, against matching with *the Wife of the deceased Brother* (which was the Point so much questioned in the case of King *Henry* the *Eighth*) this [u] Synodical Decree is there urged. *The Brother may not ascend into the Bed of his deceased Brother: the Lord having said, They two shall be one flesh. Therefore the Wife of thy Brother, is thy Sister.* Whereupon we find also, that our *Kilianus* did suffer Martyrdom for [x] dissolving such an incestuous Marriage in *Gozbertus* Duke of *Franconia*: and that *Clemens Scotus* for maintaining the contrary, was both by [y] *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the [z] Council held at *Rome*, by Pope *Zachary* in the Year DCCXLV. condemned as a Bringer in of *Judaism* amongst Christians. Yet how far this condemned Opinion of his prevailed afterward in this Country, and how foul a Crime it was esteemed to be by others abroad (notwithstanding the Pope doth now by his Bulls of Dispensation take upon him to make a fair matter of it) may easily be perceived by this Censure of *Giraldus*: [a] Moreover saith he, *which is very detestable, and most contrary not only to the Faith, but also unto common Honesty; Brethren in many places throughout* Ireland *do, I say not marry, but mar rather and seduce the Wives of their deceased Brothers, while in this sort they filthily*

[s] Videtur indicare, esse aliquid quod donum quidem sit, non tamen spirituale: ut Nuptiæ. *Sedul. in Rom.* 1.

[t] De consanguinitate in conjugio. Intelligite quid Lex loquitur, non minus nec plus. Quod autem observatur apud nos, ut quatuor genera dividantur; nec vidisse dicunt nec legisse. *Synod. Patric. cap.* 29. *M. S.*

[u] Audi decreta Synodi super istis. Frater thorum defuncti fratris non ascendat: Domino dicente, Erunt duo in carne una. Ergo uxor fratris tui soror tua est. *Ibid. cap.* 25. *& in excerptis è Jure Sacerdotali Egberti Archiepisc. per Hucuthon Levitam. M. S.*

[x] *Vit. Kiliani, tom.* 4. *antiqu. lect. Henr. Canisii pag.* 633. *&* 644.

[y] Judaismum inducens, judicat justum esse Christiano, ut si voluerit viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. *Bonifac. Epist. ad Zachar. tomo* 3. *Concil. part.* 1. *pag.* 382. *edit. Colon. an.* 1618.

[z] Inferens Christianis Judaismum, dum prædicat fratris defuncti accipere uxorem. *Concil. Roman. II. sub Zachar. ibid. pag.* 383 *e.*

[a] Quinimo (quod valde detestabile est, & non tantùm fidei, sed & cuilibet honestati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imo verius seducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam incestuosè cognoscunt: veteris in hoc testamenti non medullæ sed cortici adhærentes, veteresque libentiùs in vitiis quàm virtutibus imitari volentes. *Girald. Cambr. Topograph. Hibern. distinct.* 3. *cap.* 19.

and

and inceſt nowiſe have knowledge of them: clearing herein not to the marrow, but to the bark of the old Teſtament, and deſiring to imitate the ancient in Vices more willingly than in Vertues.

Thirdly, Touching *Divorces*, we read in *Sedulius*; that [b] *it is not lawful, according to the Precept of our Lord, that the Wife ſhould be put away, but for the Cauſe of Fornication.* And in the Synod aſcribed to St. *Patrick*: [c] *It is not lawful for a man to put away his Wife, but for the Cauſe of Fornication. As if he ſhould ſay*; *for this Cauſe*, he may. *Whence if he marry another, as it were after the death of the former, they forbid it not.* Who they were, that did not forbid this ſecond Marriage, is not there expreſſed: that St. *Patrick* himſelf was of another mind, would appear by this Conſtitution following; which in another ancient Canon Book I found cited under his name. [d] *If any Mans Wife have committed Adultery with another man: he ſhall not marry another Wife, as long as the firſt Wife ſhall be alive. If peradventure ſhe be converted, and do Penance: he ſhall receive her; and ſhe ſhall ſerve him in the place of a Maid-ſervant. Let her for a whole year do Penance in Bread and Water, and that by Meaſure: neither let them remain in the ſame Bed together.* *Fourthly*, Concerning *ſingle Life*, I do not find in any of our Records, that it was generally impoſed upon the *Clergy*; but the contrary rather. For in the Synod held by St. *Patrick*, *Auxilius*, and *Iſſerninus*; there is a ſpecial Order taken, [e] that their *Wives ſhall* not walk abroad, with their heads uncovered. And St. *Patrick* himſelf confeſſeth (at leaſtwiſe the *Confeſſion* which goeth under his name ſaith ſo; and *Probus*, *Jocelinus*, and others that write his Life, agree therewith) that he [f] had to his father *Calphurnius a Deacon*, and to his grandfather *Potitus a Prieſt*. For that was no new thing then among the *Britains*, whoſe Biſhops therefore *Gildas* doth reprehend (as for the ſame cauſe he did the chief of the Laity) that they were not content to be the Husbands of *one*, but of many Wives, and that they corrupted their Children by their evil Example; whereas [g] *the Chaſtity of the Fathers was*

[b] Non licet ſecundùm præceptum Domini ut dimittatur conjux, niſi cauſa fornicationis. *Sedul. in 1 Cor. 7.*

[c] Non licet viro dimittere uxorem niſi ob cauſam fornicationis, ac ſi dicat ob hanc cauſam. Unde ſi ducat alteram, velut poſt mortem prioris, non vetatur. *Synod. Patric. cap. 26. M. S.*

[d] Si alicujus uxor fornicata fuerit cum alio viro: non adducet aliam uxorem, quamdiù vivit uxor prima. Si fortè converſa fuerit, & agat pœnitentiam, ſuſcipiet eam; & ſerviet ei in vicem ancillæ: & annum integrum in pane & aqua per menſuram pœniteat; nec in uno lecto permanebunt. *Ex libro canonum Cottoviani, titulorum 66.*

[e] Quicunque Clericis, ab Oſtiario uſque ad Sacerdotem, ſine tunica viſus fuerit, *&c.* & uxor ejus ſi non velato capite ambulaverit: pariter hi cis contemnentur, & ab Eccleſia ſeparentur. *Synod. Patric. Auxil. Iſſernin.*

[f] Patrem habui Calpernium Diaconum, filium quondam Potiti preſbyteri. *S. Patricii confeſſio. M. S.*

[g] Imperfecta eſt patrum caſtitas, ſi eidem non & filiorum accumuletur. Sed quid erit, ubi nec pater, nec filius mali genitoris exemplo pravatus, conſpicitur caſtus? *Gildas.*

to be eſteemed imperfect, if the Chaſtity of their Sons were not added thereunto.

Nennius, the eldeſt Hiſtoriographer of the *Brittains* which we have after him (who in many Copies alſo beareth his own name) wrote that Book which we have extant of his to [h] *Samuel the Child of* Benlanus *the Prieſt, his Maſter:* counting it a Grace, rather than any kind of Diſparagement unto him, to be eſteemed the Son of a learned Prieſt. Which maketh him in the [i] Verſes prefixed before the work to ſay:

Chriſte, tribuiſti patri Samuelem, * *Latâ matre.*

h Sic inveni ut tibi Samuel (infans magiſtri mei Benleni presbyteri) in iſta pagina ſcripſi. *Nennius in M. S. Dunelmenſi.*

i Verſus Nennii ad Samuelem filium magiſtri ſui Benlani, viri religioſi, ad quem hiſtoriam iſtam ſcripſerat. *Nenn. M.S. in publicâ Cantabrigienſis Academiæ Bibliothecâ.* * *Hinc apud Balæum, Centur. 1. cap. 77. Benlani presbyteri conjux Lara eſt nominata.*

But about 60. or 70. Years after, I find ſome partial Eclipſe here (and the firſt, I think, of this kind, that can be ſhewed among the *Brittains*) in the Laws of *Howel Dha:* where it is ordered, that [k] if a Clerk of a lower degree ſhould match with a Woman, and have a Son by her, and that Clerk afterward having received the order of *Prieſt-hood*, ſhould have another Son by the ſame Woman; the former Son ſhould enjoy his Fathers whole Eſtate, without being bound to divide the ſame with his other Brother. Yet theſe Marriages for all that were ſo held out, that the Fathers not content their Sons ſhould ſucceed them in their temporal Eſtate alone, prevailed ſo far that they continued them in the Succeſſion of their ſpiritual Promotions alſo. Which Abuſe *Giraldus Cambrenſis* [l] complaineth to have been continued in *Wales* unto his time; and out of [m] *Hildebertus Cenomanenſis* ſheweth to have prevailed in little *Brittain* alſo:

k Si clericus haberet fœminam datam à ſuo genere, & ſic habet filium ex ea; & poſtea ille clericus presbyteratus ordinem accipiens, ſi poſt votum conſecrationis filium haberet de eadem fœmina; prior filius non debet partiri cum filio poſt-nato. *Ex legib. Howel Dha, M. S. in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*

l Succeſſivè & poſt patres filii Eccleſias obtinent, non electivè ſed hæreditate poſſidentes & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei, quia ſi prælatus alium eligere & inſtituere forte præſumpſerit; in inſtituentem proculdubiò, vel inſtitutum, genus injuriam vindicabit. *Giral. Cambrenſis Deſcript. Cambriæ, libro 2. M. S.* Succeſſionis quippe vitium non ſolùm in ſedibus cathedralibus, verùmetiam adeò per totam in clero ſicut & in populo Walliam pertinaciter invaluit; quòd & poſt patres filii paſſim Eccleſias, & conſequenter obtineant, tanquam hæreditate poſſidentes & pollentes Sanctuarium Dei. *&c. Id. in Dialogo de Eccleſia Menevenſi, diſtinct. 1. M. S.*

m *Hildebert. Epiſt. 65. ad Honorium II. (tom. 12. Bibliſth. Patr. part. 1. pag. 338, 339. edit. Colon.)*

alſo:

alſo: whence he inferreth, [n] that *this vice was of old common to the whole Britiſh Nation, as well on this ſide as on the other ſide of the Sea.* Whereunto for *Ireland* alſo we may add the Letters written by Pope *Innocent* the *Third* unto *Johannes Salernitanus* the Cardinal, his Legate, [o] for aboliſhing the Cuſtom there, whereby Sons and Grand-Children did uſe to ſucceed their Fathers and Grand-fathers in their Eccleſiaſtical Benefices.

[n] Ex quibus conſtare poteſt, utrumque virium tori huic genti Britanniæ tam ciſmarinæ quàm tranſmarinæ ab antiquo commune fuiſſe. *Girald. Cambr. in utroque.*

[o] *Alphonſ. Ciacon. in Vitis Pontificum & Cardinalium. pag.* 515.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Diſcipline of our ancient Monks; and Abſtinence from Meats.

WHat hath been ſaid of the married Clergy, concerneth the *Seculars*, and not the *Regulars*, whereof there was a very great number in *Ireland*; becauſe here [a] *almoſt all the Prelates were wont to be choſen into the Clergy out of Monaſteries.* For our *Monaſteries* in ancient time were the Seminaries of the *Miniſtery*; being as it were ſo many Colleges of learned Divines, whereunto the people did uſually reſort for Inſtruction, and from whence the Church was wont continually to be ſupplied with able Miniſters. The Benefit whereof was not only contained within the limits of this Iſland, but did extend it ſelf to foreign Countries likewiſe. For this was it that drew [b] *Egbert* and *Ceadda* (for Example) into *Ireland*; that they might there *lead a monaſtical Life in Prayers and Continency, and Meditation of the holy Scriptures*: and hence were thoſe famous Monaſteries planted in *England* by *Aidan, Finan, Colman*, and others; unto which [c] *the People flockt apace on the Lord's Day, not for the feeding of their Body, but for the learning of the word of God*, as *Beda* witneſſeth. Yea this was the principal Means, whereby the Knowledge

[a] Ferè omnes Hiberniæ prælati de monaſteriis in clerum electi ſunt. *Girald. Cambren. Topograph. Hibern. diſtinct.* 3. *cap.* 29.

[b] Ecgbertus cum Ceadda adoleſcente & ipſe adoleſcens in Hibernia monaſticam in orationibus & continentiâ & meditatione divinarum ſcripturarum vitam ſedulus agebat. *Bed. lib.* 4. *hiſt. cap.* 3.

[c] ſed & diebus Dominicis ad Eccleſiam ſive ad monaſteria certatim, non reficiendi corporis, ſed erudiendi ſermonis Dei gratiâ confluebant. *Id. lib.* 3. *cap* 26.

both of the Scriptures and of all other good Learning, was preſerved in that Inundation of Barbariſm, wherewith the whole Weſt was in a manner overwhelmed. *Hitherto* (ſaith [d] *Curio*) *it might ſeem that the ſtudies of Wiſdom ſhould quite have periſhed; unleſs God had reſerved a ſeed in ſome corner of the World. Among the* Scottiſh *and the* Iriſh *ſomething as yet remained of the Doctrine of the Knowledge of God, and of Civil Honeſty; becauſe there was no terrour of Arms in thoſe utmoſt ends of the World. And we may there behold and adore the great Goodneſs of God; that among the* Scots, *and in thoſe places where no man would have thought it, ſo many great Companies ſhould be gathered together under a moſt ſtrict Diſcipline.*

[d] Hactenus videri poterat ſcitum eſſe cum ſplendore ſtudia; niſi ſemen Deus ſervaſſet in aliquo mundi angulo. In Scotis & Hibernis hæſerat aliquid adhuc de doctrina cognitionis Dei & honeſtatis civilis; quòd nullus fuerit in ultimis illis mundi finibus armorum terror, *&c.* Et ſummam poſſumus ibi conſpicere & adorare Dei bonitatem; quòd in Scotis, & locis, ubi nemo putaſſet, tam numeroſi coaluerint ſub ſtrictiſſimâ diſciplinâ cœtus. *Jacob. Curio, lib.* 2. *rerum Chronologic.*

How *ſtrict* their Diſcipline was, may appear partly by the *Rule*, and partly by the *Daily Penances of Monks*; which are yet extant of *Columbanus* his writing. In the latter of theſe, for the diſobedience of Monks theſe Penances are preſcribed. [e] *If any Brother be diſobedient*; he ſhall faſt *two days, with one Biſket and Water. If any ſay, I will not do it, three days with one Biſket and Water. If any mariner*; *two days, with one Biſket and Water. If any do not ask leave, or tell an Excuſe*; *two days, with one Biſket and Water*; and ſo in other particulars. In his *Rule*, theſe good Leſſons doth he give unto his Monks, among many others: That [f] *it profited them little, if they were Virgins in Body, and were not Virgins in mind.* That they [g] *ſhould daily profit, as they did daily pray, and daily read.* That [h] *the good things of the Phariſee being vainly praiſed were loſt, and the Sins of the Publican being accuſed vaniſhed away: and therefore that a great word ſhould not come out of the mouth of a Monk, leſt his great labour ſhould periſh.* They were not taught to vaunt of their ſtate of *Perfection*, and Works of *Supererogation*: or to argue from thence (as *Celeſtius* the *Pe-*

[e] Si quis frater inobediens fuerit; duos dies uno paxmate & aquâ. Si quis dicit, Non faciam, tres dies uno paxmate & aquâ. Si quis murmurat; duos dies uno paxmate & aquâ. Si quis verſutam non potit, aut dicit excuſationem; duos dies uno paxmate & aquâ. *Columban. lib. de quotidianis Pœnitentiis Monachor. cap.* 10. *M. S. in monaſterio S. Galli.* [f] Quid prodeſt, ſi virgo corpore ſit, & non ſit virgo mente? *Id. in Regulâ Monachor. cap.* 8. [g] Quotidie proficiendum eſt: ſicut quotidie orandum, quotidieque eſt legendum. *Ibid. cap.* 5. [h] Bona vanè laudata Phariſæi perierunt: & peccata Publicani confeſſa evanuerunt. Non exeat igitur verbum grande de ore Monachi: ne ſuus grandis pereat labor. *Ibid. cap.* 7.

lagian

lagian Monk sometime did) that [i] *by the nature of their Free-will they had such a possibility of not sinning, that they were able also to do more than was commanded; because they did observe perpetual Virginity which is not commanded, whereas for not sinning it is sufficient to fulfil the Precepts.* It was one of the points which *Gallus* (the Scholar of *Columbanus*) delivered in his Sermon preached at *Constance*; that our Saviour [k] *did so perswade the Apostles and their Followers to lay hold upon the good of Virginity; that yet they should know, it was not of humane Industry, but of divine Gift.* And it is a good Observation which we read in *Claudius*; that [l] *not only in the Splendour of bodily things, but also in mournful abasing of ones self, there may be boasting; and that so much the more dangerous, as it deceiveth under the name of the Service of God.*

i Tantam nos habere per naturam liberi arbitrii non peccandi possibilitatem: ut plus etiam quàm præceptum est, faciamus: quoniam perpetua servatur à plerisq; virginitas, quæ præcepta non est; cùm ad non peccandum præcepta implere sufficiat. *Aug. de gestis Synod. Palæstin. contra Pelag. cap.* 13. k Ipsis Apostolis & eorum sequacibus ita bonum virginitatis arripiendum persuasit: ut hoc scirent non humanæ industriæ, sed muneris esse divini. *S. Gallus, in serm. habit. constant.* l Non in solo rerum corporearum nitore, sed etiam in ipsis sordibus luctuosis esse posse jactantiam: & eò periculosiorem, quo sub nomine servitutis Dei decipit. *Claud. lib.* 1. *in Matth.*

Our *Monks* were *religious* indeed, and not in Name only; far from the Hypocrisie, Pride, Idleness, and Uncleanness of those *evil Beasts* and *slothful Bellies*, that afterward succeeded in their room. Under colour of forsaking all, they did not hook all unto themselves; nor under semblance of Devotion, did they devour widows Houses: they held *begging* to be no point of *Perfection*; but [m] remembred the words of our Lord Jesus, how he said, *It is a more blessed thing to give rather than to take.* When King *Sigebert* made large Offers unto *Columbanus* and his Companions, to keep them within his Dominions in *France*: he received such another answer from them, as [n] *Thaddæus* in the Ecclesiastical History is said to have given unto *Abgarus* the Governour of *Edessa*: [o] *We who have forsaken our own, that according to the Commandment of the Gospel we might follow the Lord, ought not to embrace other mens Riches; lest peradventure we should prove Transgressors of the divine Commandment.* How then did these men live, will you say? *Walafridus Strabus* telleth us that [p] *some*

m *Act.* 20. 35. n Εἰ τὰ ἡμέτερα καταλελοίπαμεν, πῶς τὰ ἀλλότρια ληψόμεθα; Euseb. lib. 1. hist. cap. ult. o Qui nostra reliquimus, ut secundùm Evangelicam jussionem Dominum sequeremur, non debemus alienas amplecti divitias; ne fortè prævaricatores simus divini mandati. *Walafrid. Strab. vit. Galli, lib.* 1. *cap.* 2. p Alii hortum laboraverunt, alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. B. verò Gallus texebat retia, &c. & de eodem labore assiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. *Ibid. cap.* 6.

of them wrought in the Garden, others dressed the Orchard; Gallus *made Nets* and took Fish, wherewith he not only relieved his own Company, but was helpful also unto Strangers. So *Bede* reporteth of *Cuthbert*, that when he retired himself unto an *anchoretical* Life, he q *first indeed received a little Bread from his Brethren to feed upon, and drank out of his own Well*; *but afterwards he thought it more fit to live by the work of his own hands, after the Example of the Fathers*: *and therefore intreated, that instruments might be brought him wherewith he might till the Earth, and Corn that he might sow.*

q Et primùm quidem permodicum ab ils panem, quo vesceretur, accipiebat, ac suo bibebat è fonte: postmodum verò proprio manuum labore juxta exempla patrum vivere magis aptum ducebat. Rogavit ergo afferri sibi instrumenta quibus terram exerceret, & triticum quod sereret. *Bed. vit. Cuthbert. prof. cap.* 19. *Vid. lib.* 4. *hist. Eccles. cap.* 28.

r *Id. in Carm. de vit. Cuthbert. cap.* 17.

r *Quique suis cupiens Victum conquirere palmis*
Inculta pertentat humum proscindere ferro,
Et sator edomiti anni spem credere glebis.

The like doth he relate of s *Fursæus*; and *Bonifacius* of t *Livinus*; and *Theodorus Cumpidoviensis* (or whosoever else wrote that Book) of u *Gallus*, *Magnoaldus*, and the rest of the Followers of *Columbanus*; that they got their living by the labour of their own hands. And the x *Apostles* Rule is generally laid down for all Monks, in the life of *Fursæus*: y *They which live in Monasteries should work with silence, and eat their own Bread.*

s *Id. lib.* 3. *hist. Eccles. cap.* 19.

t *Bonifac. in vitâ Livini, pag.* 240.

u *Theod. Campid. vit. Magni, lib.* 1. *cap.* 5. *edit. Goldasti, & Canisii.*

x 2 *Thes.* 3. 10.

y Qui in monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operentur, suum panem manducent. *Vit. Fursæi.*

But now there is started up a new Generation of Men, that refuse to *eat their own Bread*, and count it a high point of Sanctity to live by *begging of other mens Bread*; if yet the course they take may rightly be termed *begging*. For as *Richard Fitz-Ralph*, that famous Archbishop of *Armagh*, objected to their faces, before the Pope himself and his Cardinals in z his time

z Jam enim istis in temporibus non poterit magnus aut mediocris in clero & populo aut vix cibum sumere, nisi isti hoc affuerint mendicantes: non more pauperum petentes ad portas vel ostia humiliter eleemosynam (ut Franciscus in Testamento præcepit & docuit) mendicando, sed curias, sive domos, sine requirendo nisi penetrantes & inibi hospitantes, nullatenus invitari, edunt & bibunt, quæ apud eos reperiunt secum nihilominus aut grana, aut similam, aut panes aut carnes, seu caseos (etiamsi in domo non fuerint nisi duo) secum extorquendo reportant: nec eis quisquam poterit denegare, nisi verecundiam naturalem abjiciat. *Rich. Armachanus, in Defensorio Curatorum, pag.* 56, 57. *edit. Paris. an.* 1625. (*collat. cum vetere editione Ascensianâ.*)

(and

(and the matter is little amended, I wiss, in ours) *scarce could any great or mean Man of the Clergy or the Laity eat his Meat, but such kind of Beggars would be at his Elbow; not like other poor folks, humbly craving Alms at the Gate or the Door (as* Francis *did command and teach them in his Testament) by begging; but without shame intruding themselves into Courts or Houses, and Lodging there, where, without any inviting at all, they eat and drink what they do find among them: and not with that content, carry away with them either Wheat, or Meal, or Bread, or Flesh, or Cheeses (although there were but two in an House) in a kind of an extorting manner; there being none that can deny them, unless he would cast away natural shame.*

This did that renowned *Primate* (whose anniversary Memory is still celebrated in *Dundalke*, where he was born and buried, by the name of *Saint Richard*) publickly deliver in the Year 1357. at the Consistory of *Avignion*: where he stoutly maintained against the whole Rabble of the Friars, what he had preached the Year before at *Paul's Cross* unto the people. Namely, [a] *That our Lord Jesus Christ, although in his humane Conversation he was always poor,* [b] *yet did he never voluntarily beg himself,* [c] *nor taught others so to do,* [d] *but taught the plain contrary.* And [e] *that no man could prudently and holily take upon himself the perpetual observation of voluntary Beggery; forasmuch as such kind of begging as well by Christ, as by his Apostles and Disciples, by the Church and by the holy Scriptures, was both disswaded and also reproved.*

[a] Prima conclusio erat, quòd Dominus Iesus Christus in conversatione suâ humanâ semper pauper erat, non quia propter se paupertatem dilexit aut voluit. *Ibid. pag.* 104, 105. [b] Secunda conclusio erat, quòd Dominus noster Iesus Christus nunquam spontaneè mendicavit. *Ib. pag.* 107. [c] Tertia conclusio fuit; quòd Christus nunquam docuit spontaneè mendicare. *Ib. pag.* 121. [d] Quarta conclusio fuit; quòd Dominus noster Iesus Christus docuit non debere homines spontaneè mendicare. *Ibid. pag.* 123. [e] Quinta conclusio erat; quòd nullus potest prudenter & sanctè spontaneam mendicitatem super se assumere perpetuò asservandam, quoniam ex quo talis mendicitas vel mendicatio est dissuasa à Christo, à suis Apostolis & Discipulis, & ab Ecclesia ac sacris Scripturis, ac etiam reprobata: consequitur quòd non potest prudenter & sanctè assumi hoc modo. *Ibid. pag.* 131. *Vid. ejusd. Richardi sermonem 3. apud Crucem Londin. edit. Paris. an.* 1512.

His Countryman *Henry Crumpe* (a Monk of the Cistercian Order in *Baltinglas*) not long after, treading in his steps, was accused for delivering in his Determinations at *Oxford*: that [f] *the*

[f] Quòd fratres de quatuor ordinibus Mendicantium non sunt nec fuerunt Domino inspirante instituti; sed contra Consilium generale Lateranense sub Innocentio Tertio celebratum, ac perfecta & falsa somnia, Papa Honorius suasus à fratribus eos confirmavit. *Act. contra Henr. Crumpe, in Thomæ Waldensis Fasciculo Zizaniorum, quem M.* Sum. *habeo.*

Friars

Friars of the four Mendicant Orders are not, nor ever were inſtituted by Gods Inſpiration, but that contrary to the general Councel of Lateran, *held under* Innocent *the Third* (which prohibited the bringing in of any more new religious Orders into the Church) *and by feigned and falſe Dreams, Pope* Honorius *being perſwaded by the Friars, did confirm them,* and g *that all the Doctors which did determine for the Friars ſide, were either afraid to ſpeak the Truth, leſt their Books ſhould be condemned by the Friars that had gotten to be Inquiſitors; or ſaid, As it ſeemeth, or proceeded only by way of Diſputation, and not of Determination: becauſe if they had ſpoken the truth plainly in the behalf of the Church, the Friars would have perſecuted them, as they did perſecute the holy Doctor Armachanus.* Which *Crump* himſelf found afterwards to be too true by his own Experience. For he was forced to deny and abjure theſe Aſſertions in the houſe of the Carmelite Friars at *Stamford*, before *William Courtney* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: and then ſilenced, that he ſhould not exerciſe publickly any Act in the Schools, either by Reading, Preaching, Diſputing, or Determining; until he ſhould have a ſpecial Licenſe from the ſaid Archbiſhop ſo to do.

g Quòd omnes Doctores determinantes pro parte fratrum è capitulo *Dudum*, vel timuerunt veritatem dicere, ne eorum libri per fratres Inquiſitores hæreticæ pravitatis damnarentur; vel dixerunt, ut videtur, vel ſolùm diſputando profeſſerunt: quia ſi plenè veritatem pro Eccleſiâ diſſiſſent, perſecuti eos fuiſſent Fratres, ſicut perſequebantur ſanctum Doctorem Armachanum. *Ibid.*

But to leave the *Begging Friars* (being a kind of Creatures unknown to the Church for Twelve hundred years after Chriſt) and to return to the *Labouring Monks*: we find it related of our *Brendan*: that he h *governed three thouſand ſuch Monks, maintained by their own Labours and holy Work did earn their living.* Which agreeth well with that ſaying, aſcribed to him by the writer of his Life: i *A Monk ought to be fed and cloathed by the Labour of his own Hands.* Neither was there any other Order obſerved in that famous Monaſtery of *Bangor* among the Brittains, k *where-in there is ſaid to have been ſo great a number of Monks, that the Monaſtery being divided into ſeven portions* (together with the Re-

h Tribus monachorum (qui ſuis ſibi ipſi laboribus victum, manibus operando ſuppeditabant) millibus præfuiſſe creditur. *Brecol. Harpſfield. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 25.*

i Monachum oportet labore manuum ſuarum veſci & veſtiri. *Vit. S. Brendani.*

k In quo tantus fertur fuiſſe numerus monachorum; ut cum in ſeptem portiones eſſet cum præpoſitis ſibi rectoribus monaſterium diviſum, nulla harum portio minus quàm trecentos homines haberet: qui omnes de labore manuum ſuarum vivere ſolebant. *Bed. lib. 2. hiſtor. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 2.*

Hors

ctors appointed over them) none of all those portions had less than three hundred persons in them: all which (saith Bede) were wont to live by the Labour of their own Hands. From the destruction of which Monastery, unto the erection of *Tuy Gwyn*, or *Whitehouse* (which is said to have been about the Year 1146.) the Setter forth of the * Welsh Chronicle observeth, that there were no Abbeys among the Brittains.

Here in *Ireland* Bishop *Colman* founded the Monastery of *Magio* (in the † County of *Limerick*) for the Entertainment of the *English*: where they l *did live according to the example of the reverend Fathers* (as *Bede* writeth) *under a Rule and a canonical Abbot, in great Continency and Sincerity, with the Labour of their own Hands.* Like whereunto was the Monastery of *Mailros* also, planted by Bishop *Aidan* and his followers in *Northumberland*; where St. *Cuthbert* had his Education: who affirmed, that m *the Life of such Monks was justly to be admired, which were in all things subject to the commands of their Abbot; and ordered all the times of their watching, praying, fasting, and working, according to his direction.*

m *Excubiasque, famemque, preces, manuumque laborem*
Ad votum gaudent proni frænare regentis.

* *Chronicle of Wales, pag.* 253, 254.

† *Vid. annal. Hibern. à Camdeno edit. ad an.* 1370.

l Ad exemplum venerabilium Patrum, sub regulâ & Abbate canonico, in magna continentia & sinceritate proprio labore manuum vivunt. *Bed. lib.* 4. *hist. eccles. cap.* 4.

m Jure, inquit, est cœnobitarum vita miranda, qui Abbatis per omnia subjiciuntur imperiis; ad ejus arbitrium cuncta vigilandi, orandi, jejunandi, atque operandi tempora moderantur. *Bed. vit. Cuthbert. præf. cap.* 20. n *Id. Carm. cap.* 20.

As for their *Fasting* (for of their *Watching* and *Praying* there is no question made; and of their *Working* we have already spoken sufficiently) by the *Rule* of *Columbanus*, they were o *every day to fast, and every day to eat*: that by this means, p *the enabling of them for their spiritual Proficiency might be retained, together with the Abstinence that did macerate the flesh.* He would therefore have them q *every day to eat; because they were every day to profit*; and because r *Abstinence, if it did exceed measure, would prove a Vice and not a Vertue.* And he would have them to fast every day too, that is, not to eat any Meat at all (for

o Quotidie jejunandum est, sicut quotidie reficiendum est. *Columb. Regul. cap.* 5.

p Quia hæc est vera discretio, ut possibilitas spiritualis profectus cum abstinentia carnem macerante retentetur. *Ibid.* q Idcò quotidie edendum est, quia quotidie proficiendum est. *Ibid.* r Si enim modum abstinentia excesserit, vitium non virtus erit. *Ibid.*

other

other fasts were not known in those days) until evening. [f] *Let the food of Monks* (saith he) be *mean, and taken at evening; flying Satiety and Excess of drink: that it may both sustain them and not hurt them.* This was the *daily fasting* and *feeding* of them that lived according to *Columbanus* his Rule, although the strictness of the Fast seemeth to have been kept on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* only: which were the days of the Week, wherein the ancient Irish (agreeable to the Custom of the *Grecian* rather than the *Roman* Church) were wont to observe Abstinence both from Meat, and from the * Marriage-Bed. Whence in the Book before alledged, of the *Daily Penances of Monks*, we find this Order set down by the same *Columbanus*: that [t] *if any one, unless he were weak, did upon the Wednesday or Friday eat before the ninth hour*: (that is to say, before *three* of the Clock in the afternoon, according unto our account) he should be punished with fasting *two days in Bread and Water*. And in *Bede's* Ecclesiastical History; that [u] such as followed the Information of *Aidan*, did upon the same days observe their Fast, until the same hour. In which History we also read of Bishop *Cedd* (who was brought up at *Lindisfarne* with our *Aidan* and *Finan*) that keeping a strict Fast, upon a special Occasion in the time of *Lent*, he did [x] *every day, except the Lord's day, continue his fast (as the manner was) until the Evening; and then also did eat nothing but a small pittance of Bread, and one Egg, with a little milk mingled with Water.* Where by the way you may note, that in those days *Eggs* were eaten in Lent, and the *Sundays* excepted from fasting, even then when the Abstinence was precisely and in more than an ordinary manner observed.

[f] Cibus sit vilis & vespertinus Monachorum, satietatem fugiens & potus ebrietatem; ut & sustineat, & non noceat. *Ibid.*

* Synodus Hiberniensium dicit. In tribus quadragesimis anni, in die Dominico & in quarta feria & sexta, conjugales continere se debent. *Canonum Collectio, cujus initium*; Sancta Synodus bis in anno decrevit habere Concilia. *M. S. in Bibliotheca Cotton.*

[t] Si quis ante horam nonam quartâ sextaque feriâ manducat, nisi infirmus; duos dies in pane & aqua. *Columban. lib. de quotidianis Pœnitent. monachor. cap. 13.*

[u] Cujus exemplis informati, tempore illo, religiosi quique viri ac fœminæ, consuetudinem fecerunt per totum annum, (exceptâ remissione quinquagesimæ Paschalis) quarta & sexta sabbati jejunium ad nonam usque horam protelare. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. Eccles. cap. 5.*

[x] Quibus diebus cunctis, exceptâ Dominicâ, jejunium ad vesperam juxta morem protelans; nec tunc nisi panis permodicum, & unum ovum gallinaceum, cum parvo lacte aquâ mixto perciplebat. *Ibid. cap. 23.*

But generally for this point of the *difference of meats*, it is well noted by *Claudius* out of St. *Augustine*, that [y] *the Children of*

[y] Ostendens evidenter, filios sapientiæ intelligere, nec in abstinendo nec in manducando esse justitiam; sed in æquanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiâ per abundantiam non se corrumpendi, atque opportune sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus sed concupiscentia reprehendenda est. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

Wisdom

Wiſdom do underſtand, that neither in abſtaining nor in eating is there any vertue; but in Contentedneſs of bearing the want, and Temperance of not corrupting a mans ſelf by abundance, and of opportunely taking or not taking thoſe things, of which not the Uſe but the Concupiſcence, is to be blamed. And in the life of *Furſeus*, the Hypocriſie of them is juſtly taxed, that being [a] *aſſaulted with ſpiritual vices, do yet omit the care of them, and afflict their Body with Abſtinence:* who a *abſtaining from Meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving, fall to wicked things, as if they were lawful; namely to Pride, Covetouſneſs, Envy, falſe Witneſſing, Backbiting.* Of whom *Gildas* giveth this good Cenſure, in one of his Epiſtles, which now are loſt. b *Theſe men, while they do feed on Bread by Meaſure, for this ſame very thing do glory without Meaſure; while they uſe water, they are withal drenched with the Cup of Hatred; while they feed on dry Meats, they uſe Detractions; while they ſpend themſelves in watchings, they diſpraiſe others that are oppreſſed with ſleep; preferring Faſting before Charity, Watching before Juſtice, their own Invention before Concord, Severity before Humility, and laſtly, Man before God. Such Mens faſting, unleſs it be proceeded unto by ſome vertues, profiteth nothing at all: but ſuch as accompliſh Charity, do ſay with the Harp of the Holy Ghoſt; All our Righteouſneſs are as the cloth of a menſtruous Woman.* Thus *Gildas*: who upon this ground layeth down this ſound Concluſion; wherewith we will ſhut up this whole matter. c *Abſtinence from Corporal Meats is unprofitable without Charity. They are therefore the better men, who do not faſt much, nor abſtain from the Creature of God beyond meaſure, but carefully keep their heart within pure before God, from whence they know cometh the iſſue of Life: than they who eat no Fleſh, nor take delight in ſecular Dinners, nor ride with Coaches or Horſes, thinking themſelves hereby to be as it were ſuperiour to others; upon whom death hath entred through the windows of Haughtineſs.*

[a] Sunt nonnulli, qui ſpiritualibus vitiis impugnantur; ſed his omiſſis, corpus in abſtinentia affligunt. *Vit. S. Furſei.*

a Multi enim cibis, quos Deus ad percipiendum cum gratiarum actione creavit, abſtinentes, hæc nefanda quaſi licita ſumunt; hoc eſt, ſuperbiam, avaritiam, invidiam, falſum teſtimonium, blaſphemiam. *Ibid.*

b *Gildas in Epiſtolis ſuis.*

Hi dum pane ad menſuram veſcuntur, pro hoc ipſo ſine menſura gloriantur, dum aquâ utuntur, ſimul odii poculo potantur; dum ſiccis ferculis veſcuntur, detractionibus mordent; dum vigiliis expendunt, alios ſomno preſſos vituperant: jejunium caritati, vigilias juſtitiæ, propriam adinventionem concordiæ, cauſulam Eccleſiæ (al. Cellæ,) ſeveritatem humilitati, poſtremò hominem Deo anteponunt. Horum jejunium, niſi per aliquas virtutes adſectatur, nihil prodeſt, qui verò caritatem perficiunt, cum citharâ Spiritus ſancti dicunt: Quaſi pannus menſtruatæ, omnes juſtitiæ noſtræ ſunt. *Ex libro Canonum, Cott. titulorum 66.* c Abſtinentia corporalium ciborum ſine charitate inutilis eſt. Meliores ergo ſunt, qui non magnoperè jejunant, nec ſupra modum à creatura Dei abſtinent, cor intrinſecùs nitidum coram Domino ſollicitè ſervantes, à quo ſciunt exitum vitæ: quàm illi qui carnem non edunt, nec Prandiis ſecularibus delectantur, neq; vehiculis & equis vehuntur, pro his quaſi ſuperiores cæteris ſe putantes; quibus mors intravit per feneſtras elationis. *Gild. ib.*

CHAP. VII.

Of the Church, and various State thereof, especially in the days of Antichrist: Of Miracles also, and of the Head of the Church.

CONcerning the *Catholick Church*, our Doctors taught with St. *Gregory*; that God [a] *hath a Vineyard, to wit, the universal Church, which from just* Abel, *until the last of the Elect, that shall be born in the end of the world, as many Saints as it hath brought forth, so many Branches* (*as it were*) *hath it budded.* That [b] *the Congregation of the Just is called the Kingdom of Heaven; which is the Church of the Just.* That [c] *the sons of the Church be all such as, from the beginning of mankind until now, have attained to be just and holy.* That [d] what is said of the *Body*, may be said also of the *Members*; and that in this respect, *as well the Apostles and all Believers, as the Church it self, have the Title of a pillar given them in the Scriptures.* That [e] the *Church* may be considered *two* manner of ways: both that which *neither hath Spot nor Wrinkle, and is truly the Body of Christ, and that which is gathered in the name of Christ without full and perfect Vertues*; which notwithstanding by the warrant of the Apostle, may have the name of the *Church* given unto it, although it be *depraved with Error.* That [f] *the Church is said not to have Spot or Wrinkle, in respect of the life to come.* That when the Apostle saith; *In a great house there are not only vessels of Gold*, &c. but *some to Honour, and some to Dishonour*: (2 Tim. 2. 20.) by this [g] *great House he doth not understand the Church* (*as some have thought*) *which hath not Spot nor Wrinkle*; *but the world, in which the Tares*

a Habet vineam universam scilicet Ecclesiam; quæ ab Abel justo usq; ad ultimum electum qui in fine mundi nasciturus est, quot sanctos protulit, quasi tot palmites misit. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.*

b Congregatio quippe justorum, regnum cœlorum dicitur; quod est Ecclesia justorum. *Id. lib. 3. in Matth.*

c Ecclesiæ filii sunt omnes ab institutione generis humani usque nunc quotquot justi & sancti esse potuerunt. *Id. lib. 2. in Matth.* d His & cæteris instruimur, tam Apostolos omnesque credentes, quàm ipsam quoque Ecclesiam, columnam in Scripturis appellari, & nihil interesse de corpore quid dicatur in membris, cùm & corpus dividatur in membra, & membra fiat corporis. *Id. in Gal. 2. ex Hieronymo.* e Ecclesias vocat, quas postea errore argult depravatas. Ex quo noscendum, dupliciter Ecclesiam posse dici: & eam, quæ non habeat maculam aut rugam, & verè corpus Christi sit; & eam quæ in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. *Id. in Galat. 1. ex eodem.* f Ecclesiam non habituram maculam neque rugam dicitur, respectu futuræ vitæ. *Sedul. in Ephes. 1.* g Magnum domum non Ecclesiam dicit (ut quidam putant) quæ non habet maculam neque rugam: sed mundum, in quo zizania sunt mixta tritico. *Id. in 2 Tim. 2.*

are

are mingled with the Wheat. That yet in [h] *the holy Church* alſo, *the Evil are mingled with the Good, and the Reprobate with the Elect*: and that in this reſpect it is reſembled unto *the wiſe and fooliſh Virgins*; as alſo to [i] *the Kings Marriage, by which this preſent Church is deſigned, wherein the good and the bad do meet together.* So that [k] *in this Church, neither the bad can be without the good, nor the good without the bad*: *whom the holy Church notwithſtanding doth both now receive indifferently, and ſeparate afterwards at their going from hence.*

h Sancta Eccleſia decem Virginibus ſimilis denuntiatur: in qua quia mali cum bonis & reprobi cum electis admixti ſunt, rectè ſimilis virginibus prudentibus & fatuis eſſe perhibetur. *Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.* i Per has regis nuptias præſens Eccleſia deſignatur; in qua cum bonis & malis conveniunt. *Id. lib. eod.* k In hac ergo Eccleſia, nec mali eſſe ſine bonis, nec boni eſſe ſine malis poſſunt: quos tamen ſancta Eccleſia & nunc indiſcretè ſuſcipit, & poſtmodum in egreſſione diſcernit. *Id. ibid.*

The number of the good, *Gildas* complaineth to have been [l] ſo exceeding ſhort in his time among the *Brittains*, in compariſon of the other; that their *Mother the Church in a manner did not ſee them lying in her own lap*, albeit *they were the only true Sons which ſhe had.* And for external Preſſures, our Doctors have delivered, that [m] *the Church ſometimes is not only afflicted, but alſo defiled with ſuch Oppreſſions of the Gentiles*; *that if it were poſſible, her Redeemer might ſeem for a time utterly to have forſaken her*: and that, in the raging times of *Antichriſt*, [n] *the Church ſhall not appear*; *by reaſon that the wicked Perſecutors ſhall then exerciſe their cruelty beyond all meaſure.* That in thoſe [o] *times of Antichriſt, not only more often and more bitter Torments ſhall be put upon the faithful, than before were wont to be*; *but* (*which is more grievous*) *the working of Miracles alſo ſhall accompany thoſe that inflict the Torments*: *as the Apoſtle witneſſeth, ſaying*; *VVhoſe coming is after the working of Satan, with all ſeduction, ſigns, and lying wonders.* Namely, [p] *juggling* ones: *as it was foretold before*;

l Exceptis paucis & valdè paucis, qui (ob amiſſionem tantæ multitudinis, quæ quotidiè prona ruit ad Tartara) tam brevis numeri habentur; ut eos quodammodò venerabilis mater Eccleſia in ſuo ſinu recumbentes non videat, quos ſolos veros filios habet. *Gild. epiſt.*

m Nonnunquam Eccleſia tantis gentilium preſſuris, non ſolùm afflicta, ſed & fœdata eſt; ut, ſi fieri poſſit, redemptor ipſius eam prorſus deſeruiſſe ad tempus videretur. *Claud. lib. 2. in Matth.* n Eccleſia non apparebit, impiis tunc perſecutoribus ultra modum ſævientibus. *Id. lib. 3. in Matth.* o Temporibus Antichriſti non ſolùm tormenta crebriora & acerbiora, quàm priùs conſueverant, ingerenda ſunt fidelibus; ſed (quod gravius eſt) ſignorum quoq; operatio eos qui tormenta ingerunt, comitabitur: teſte Apoſtolo, qui ait; Cujus eſt adventus ſecundùm operationem Satanæ, in omni ſeductione, ſignis, & prodigiis mendacii. *Id. lib. eod.* p Præſtigioſis: ſicut antè prædictum eſt; Dabunt ſigna, ita ut ſeducantur, ſi fieri poteſt, etiam electi, per phantaſticam virtutem: ſicut Jannes & Mambres coram Pharaone fecerunt. *Sidul. in 2 Theſ. 2.*

They shall shew such signs that, if it were possible, the very Elect should be deceived, by such a phantastical Power, as Jamnes *and* Mambres *wrought withal before* Pharaoh. q *What unbeliever therefore* (say they) *will then be converted unto the Faith? and who is he that already believeth, whose Faith trembleth not and is not shaken? when the Persecuter of Piety is the Worker of Wonders: and the same man that exerciseth Cruelty, with Torments, that Christ may be denyed; provoketh by Miracles, that Antichrist may be believed?* And r *what a pure and a single Eye is there need of, that the way of Wisdom may be found; against which so great Deceivings and Errors of evil and perverse men, do make such a noise? all which notwithstanding men must pass through; and so come to most certain Peace, and the unmoveable Stability of VVisdom.*

q Quis ergo ad fidem convertitur incredulus? cujus jam credentis non pavet & concutitur fides? quando persecutor pietatis sit etiam operator virtutis: idemque ipse qui tormentis sævit ut Christus negetur, provocat miraculis ut Antichristo credatur? *Claud. lib. 3. in Matth.* r Quàm ergo mundo & simplici oculo opus est, ut inveniatur via sapientiæ, cui tantæ malorum & perversorum hominum deceptiones erroresque obstrepunt? quas omnes necesse est evadere, hoc est, venire ad certissimam pacem, & immobilem stabilitatem sapientiæ. *Id. lib. 1. in Matth.*

Hence concerning *Miracles*, they give us these instructions. First, that s *neither if an Angel should shew himself unto us to seduce us, being suborned with the deceits of his Father the Devil, ought he to prevail against us; neither if a Miracle should be done by any one, as it is said of* Simon Magus *that he did fly in the Air:* t *neither that signs should terrifie us, as done by the Spirit; because that our Saviour also hath given us warning of this before-hand.* (Mat. 24. 24, 25.) Secondly, that u *the Faith having increased, Miracles were to cease; forasmuch as they are declared to have been given for their sakes that believe not.* And therefore that x *now when the number of the Faithful is grown, there be many within the holy Church that retain the Life of Vertues, and yet have not those signs of Vertues: because a Miracle is to no purpose shewed outwardly, if that be wanting which it should work inwardly. For according to the saying of the Master of the Gentiles; Languages are for a*

s Nec si se Angelus nobis ostendat, ad seducendos nos suborratus fallaciis patris sui Diaboli, prævalere debebit adversum nos: neq; si virtus ab aliquo facta fiet, sicut dicitur à Simone Mago in aere volâsse. *Sedul. in Rom. 8.*

t Neque signa vos terreant, tanquam per Spiritum facta: quia hoc & Salvator præmonuit. *Id. in 2 Thes. 2.* u Hic ostenditur, crescente fide signa cessare: quando fidelium causâ danda esse prædicantur. *Id. in 1 Corinth. 14.* x Unde nunc cùm fidelium numerositas excrevit, intra sanctam Ecclesiam multi sunt qui vitam virtutum tenent, & signa virtutum non habent: quia frustrà miraculum foris ostenditur, si deest quod intùs operetur. Nam juxta Magistri Gentium vocem: Linguæ in signum sunt, non fidelibus, sed infidelibus. *Claud. lib. 1. in Matth.*

sign,

sign, not to the Faithful but to Infidels. (1 Cor. 14. 22.) Thirdly, that the working of Miracles is no good Argument to prove the Holiness of them that be the instruments thereof: and therefore y *when the Lord doth such things for the convincing of Infidels, he yet giveth us warning that we should not be deceived thereby, supposing invisible Wisdom to be there, where we shall behold a Visible Miracle.* For he saith: *Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord; have we not prophesied in thy Name, and in thy name cast out Devils, and in thy Name done many Miracles?* (Matth. 7. 22.) Fourthly, that z *he tempteth God, who for his own Vain-glory will make shew of a superfluous and unprofitable Miracle.* Such as that (for example) was, whereunto the Devil tempted our Saviour, *Matth.* 4. 6. to come down headlong from the pinacle of the Temple unto the Plain, a *every Miracle being vain, which worketh not some profit unto mans Salvation.* Whereby we may easily discern, what to judge of that infinite number of idle Miracles, wherewith the Lives of our Saints are every where stuffed: many whereof we may justly censure (as b *Amphilochius* doth the Fables that the Poets tell of their Gods) for,

Μῦθοι γελασ͂ται ἄξιοι ἢ δακρύων,
Fables, of Laughter worthy, and of Tears:

Yea some of them also we may rightly brand, as

Μῦθοι ἀσχημονες, δαιμόνων διδάγματα,
Unseemly Fables, and Devils Documents.

For what (for Example) can be more *unseemly*, and tend further to the Advancement of the *doctrine of Devils*, than that which *Cogitosus* relateth in the Life of St. *Bridget*? that she, for saving the Credit of a Nun that had been gotten with Child, c *blessed her faithfully* forsooth (for so the Author speaketh) and so caused her Conception to *vanish away, without any Delivery, and without any Pain*, which for the Saving of St. *Bridgets* own Credit, either d *Hen. Canisius* or the Friars of *Aichstad* (from whom he had his Copy of *Cogitosus*) thought fit to scrape out, and rather

y Qualia propter infideles cùm feceris Dominus, monuit tamen ne talibus decipiamur, arbitrantes ibi esse invisibilem sapientiam, ubi miraculum visibile viderimus. Adjuvabit ergo & dicet, Multi dicent mihi in illa die, Domine, Domine, nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus, & in tuo nomine dæmonia ejecimus, & in tuo nomine virtutes multas fecimus. *Id. lib. eod.*

z Ille Deum tentat, qui jactantiæ suæ vitio, superfluum & inutilem vult ostentare virtutem. Quid enim utilitatis habet, quid commodi confert, si præceps hinc in plena descendero? *&c. Id. lib. eod.* a Inane est enim omne miraculum, quod utilitatem salutis non operatur humanæ. *Ibid.* b *Amphiloch. in Iambis ad Seleucum.* c *Cogitos. Vit. Brigit. in exemplaribus MSS. antiquiss. Bibliothec. Cottoniane & Ecclesiæ Saresburiensis.* d *Tom. 5. Antiqu. lection. in lacunâ, sub finem, pag.* 629.

to

to leave a blank in the Book, than to suffer so lewd a Tale to stand in it. But I will not stir this Puddle any further; but proceed on, unto some better matter.

And now are we come at last to the great Point, that toucheth the *Head* and the *Foundation* of the Church. Concerning which *Sedulius* observeth, that the Title of e *Foundation* is attributed both to *Christ*, and to the *Apostles and Prophets*; that where it is said, Esay 28. 16. *Behold, I lay in* Sion *a Stone*, &c. f *it is certain, that by the Rock or Stone, Christ is signified.* That in Ephes. 2. 20. g *the Apostles are the Foundation, or Christ rather the Foundation of the Apostles. For Christ* (saith he) *is the Foundation, who is also called the Corner-stone, joyning and holding together the two Walls. Therefore is he the Foundation and chief Stone, because in him the Church is both founded and finished*; and we are to account the Apostles h *as Ministers of Christ, and not as the Foundation.* The famous place, *Matth.* 16. 18. (whereupon our Romanists lay the main Foundation of the Papacy) *Claudius* expoundeth in this sort. i *Upon this Rock will I build my Church, that is to say, upon the Lord and Saviour, who granted unto his faithful Knower, Lover, and Confessor the participation of his own Name; that from* Petra (*the Rock*) *he should be called* Peter. *The Church is builded upon him: because only by the Faith and Love of Christ, by the receiving of the Sacraments of Christ, by the observation of the Commandements of Christ, we come to the Inheritance of the Elect and eternal Life, as witnesseth the Apostle, who saith; Other Foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.*

e Fundamentum.] Christum & Apostolos, & Prophetas. *Sedul. in Hebr.* 11.

f Compertum est in petra vel lapide Christum esse significatum. *Id. in Rom.* 9.

g Apostoli fundamentum sunt, vel Christus fundamentum est Apostolorum. Christus est fundamentum, qui etiam lapis dicitur angularis, duos conjungens & continens parietes. Ideò hic fundamentum & summus est lapis; quia in ipso & fundatur, & consummatur Ecclesia. *Id. in Ephes.* 2.

h Ut ministros Christi: non ut fundamentum. *Id. in* 1 *Cor.* 4.

i Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, id est, super Dominum salvatorem, qui fideli suo cognitori, amatori, confessori, participium sui nominis donavit, ut scilicet à petrâ Petrus vocaretur. Ædificatur Ecclesia; quia non nisi per fidem & dilectionem Christi, per susceptionem sacramentorum Christi, per observantiam mandatorum Christi, ad sortem electorum & æternam pertingitur vitam, Apostolo attestante qui ait: Fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere præter id quod positum est, qui est Christus Jesus. *Claud. lib.* 2. *in Matth.*

Yet doth the same *Claudius* acknowledge, that k St. *Peter* received a kind of *Primacy for the Founding of the Church* (in re-

k Petrum solum nominat, & sibi comparat: quia primatum ipse accepit ad fundandam Ecclesiam: se quoque pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis Gentium Ecclesiis. *Id. in Galat.* 2.

spect

ſpect whereof he termeth him l *Eccleſiæ Principem*, and m *Apoſtolorum Principem*, the *Prince of the Church*, and the *Prince* or *Chief of the Apoſtles*) but he addeth withal, that Saint *Paul alſo was choſen in the ſame manner, to have the Primacy in founding the Churches of the Gentiles*, and that he n *received this Gift from God, that he ſhould be worthy to have the Primacy in preaching to the Gentiles, as* Peter *had it in the preaching of the Circumciſion*: and therefore that o St. *Paul challengeth this Grace as granted by God to him alone, as it was granted to* Peter *alone among the Apoſtles*, and that he eſteemed himſelf p *not to be inferiour to* St. Peter, *becauſe both of them were by one ordained unto one and the ſame Miniſtery*; and that writing to the *Galatians*, q he did in the *Title name himſelf an Apoſtle of Chriſt, to the end, that by the very Authority of that name, he might terrifie his Readers judging that all ſuch as did believe in Chriſt, ought to be ſubject unto him.*

l *Id. in Gal.* 2. m *Id. in Gal.* 2.

n Ab his itaque probatum dicit donum quod accepit à Deo, ut dignus eſſet habere primatum in prædicatione Gentium, ſicut & habebat Petrus in prædicatione Circumciſionis. *Id. in Gal.* 2.

o Gratiam ſibi ſoli primus vendicat conceſſam à Deo, ſicut & ſoli Petro conceſſa eſt inter Apoſtolos. *Id. ibid.* p Non illi ſum inferior; quia ab uno ſumus ambo in unum miniſterium ordinati. *Id. ibid.* q Apoſtolum ſe Chriſti titulo prænotavit, ut ex ipſâ lecturos nominis auctoritate terreret; judicans omnes, qui in Chriſto crederent, debere ſibi eſſe ſubjectos. *Id. in Gal.* 1.

It is furthermore alſo obſerved by *Claudius*, that r as when our Saviour propounded the queſtion *generally unto all the Apoſtles*, Peter *did anſwer as one for all*; *ſo what our Lord anſwered unto* Peter, *in* Peter *he did anſwer unto all*; and therefore s *howſoever the power of looſing and binding might ſeem to be given by the Lord unto* Peter *alone, yet without all manner of doubt it is to be known, that it was given unto the reſt of the Apoſtles alſo, as himſelf doth witneſs, who appearing unto them after the Triumph of his Paſſion and Reſurrection, breathed on them, and ſaid unto them all*; *Receive the holy Ghoſt; whoſe ſins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whoſe ſins ye retain, they are retained.* *Gildas* the Brittain goeth further, affirming that t *to the true Prieſt it is ſaid*; *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock I will build my Church.* That u *to* Peter *and his Succeſſors our Lord ſaith*; *And unto thee will I give the Keys of the*

r Nam ſicut interrogatis generaliter omnibus, Petrus reſpondit unus pro omnibus: ita quod Petro Dominus reſpondit, in Petro omnibus reſpondit. *Id. lib.* 2. *in Matth.* s Quæ ſolvendi ac ligandi poteſtas, quamvis ſoli Petro data videatur à Domino; abſque ullâ tamen dubietate noſcendum eſt, quia & cæteris Apoſtolis data: ipſo teſte, qui poſt paſſionis reſurrectionisque ſuæ triumphum apparens eis inſufflavit, & dixit omnibus: Accipite Spiritum ſanctum, quorum remiſeritis peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueritis, retenta ſunt. *Id. lib. ead.* t Vero ſacerdoti dicitur: Tu es Petrus, & ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. *Gild. epiſt.* u Petro ejuſque ſucceſſoribus dicit Dominus: Et tibi dabo Claves regni cœlorum. *Ibid.*

King-

Kingdom of Heaven. And conſequently, that x unto every holy Prieſt it is promiſed, b *Whatſoever thou ſhalt bind on Earth, ſhall be bound likewiſe in Heaven; and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth ſhall be looſed likewiſe in Heaven.* Whereupon he pronounceth of the good Prieſts of Brittain; that they y *do lawfully obtain the Apoſtolical State*, and z *lawfully ſit in the Chair* of St. *Paul*: and on the other ſide of the bad, that a *with unclean Fees they uſurp the Seat of the Apoſtle* Peter, *but by the demerit of their Covetouſneſs fall into the peſtilent Chair of the Traitor* Judas; and ſo the Ordainers of ſuch, place b *after a ſort* Judas *the Betrayer of our Lord, in the ſeat of* Peter.

x Itemque omni ſancto ſacerdoti promittitur: Et quæcunque ſolveris ſuper terram, erunt ſoluta & in cœlo; & quæcunque ligaveris ſuper terram, erunt ligata & in cœlo. *Ibid.*

y Apoſtolicam ſedem legitimè obtinere. *Ibid.* z Si hunc vos Apoſtoli retinetis in omnibus affectum; ejus quoque cathedræ legitimè inſidere noſcatis. *Ibid.* a Sedem Petri Apoſtoli immundis pedibus uſurpantes; ſed merito cupiditatis in Judæ traditoris peſtilentem cathedram decidentes. *Ibid.* b Judam quodammodo in Petri cathedrâ Domini traditorem ſtatuunt. *Ibid.*

Laſtly, as *Claudius* noteth, that c *the Foundation of the Church was ſhid* not only upon St. *Peter*, but alſo upon St. *John*; ſo in a certain *Hymn* ſuppoſed to be written by *Secundinus* (known in this Country commonly by the name of St. *Seachlin*) in the Year of our Lord CCCCXLVIII. St. *Patrick* alſo is thus commended: d *He is Conſtant in the fear of God, and unmoveable in the Faith, upon whom the Church is builded as upon* St. Peter; *whoſe Apoſtleſhip alſo he hath obtained from God, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt him.* Yea e *Chriſt* is there ſaid to have *choſen him for his Vicar upon Earth.* His See likewiſe of *Armagh*, is by one *Calvus Perennis* in the days of *Brian* King of *Ireland* (who was ſlain, as appeareth by f *Marianus* in the Year 1014.) termed g *the City* Apoſtolick. So *Deſiderius* Biſhop of *Cahors* in *France*, is by our Countryman *Gallus* ſaluted both h *Papa* and *Apoſtolicus*: and the Biſhop of *Kildare* in *Ireland*, honoured by *Cogitoſus*, with the ſtile of i *Summus Sacerdos*, and k *Summus Pontifex*, the higheſt

c Super ipſos Eccleſiæ ſit poſitum fundamentum. *Claud. in Gal. 2.*

d Conſtans in Dei timore, & fide immobilis, ſuper quem ædificatur ut Petrum Eccleſia: cujuſque Apoſtolatum à Deo ſortitus eſt, & inferni portæ adverſus eum non prævalebunt. *Hymn. in laud. S. Patricii.*

e Chriſtus illum ſibi elegit in terris Vicarium. *Ibid.* f Brianus rex Hiberniæ, Paraſceve Paſchæ, ſextâ feriâ, 11. Calend. Maii, manibus & mente ad Deum intentus necatur. *Marian. Scot. See Caradoc of Lhancarran, in the Chronicle of wales, pag.* 80. g Sanctus Patricius iens ad cœlum, mandavit totum fructum laboris ſui (tam baptiſmi, tam cauſarum, quàm eleemoſynarum) deferendum eſſe Apoſtolicæ Urbi, quæ Scoticè nominatur Ardmacha. Sic repperi in Bibliothecis Scotorum. *Ex Vet. Cod. Eccleſiæ Armachanæ.* h Domino ſemper ſuo, & Apoſtolico Patri, Deſiderio Papæ, *Gallus* peccator. i *Cogitoſ. in vit. Brigid. tom.* 3. *antiq. lect. Henr. Canſii, pag.* 624. *lin. ult.* k *Ibid. pag.* 640. *lin.* 2.

Prieſt

Priest and the *highest Bishop*. Those Titles and Prerogatives, which the *Pope* now peculiarly Challengeth unto himself, as Ensigns of his *Monarchy*, being heretofore usually communicated unto other Bishops, when the universal Church was governed by the way of *Aristocracy*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Popes spiritual Jurisdiction; and how little footing it had gotten at first within these parts.

MAster *Campion* telleth us; that [a] *when* Ireland *first received Christendom, they gave themselves into the Jurisdiction both Spiritual and Temporal of the See of* Rome. But herein he speaketh without Book; of the *spiritual* Jurisdiction untruly, of the *temporal* absurdly. For from the first Legation of *Palladius* and *Patricius*, who were sent to plant the Faith in this Country, it cannot be shewed out of any Monument of Antiquity, that the Bishop of *Rome*, did ever send any of his *Legats*, to exercise spiritual Jurisdiction here (much less any of his *Deputies* to exercise Jurisdiction temporal) before *Gillebertus, quem aiunt primâ functum legatione Apostolicæ sedis per universam Hiberniam*; saith one that lived in his own time, even *Bernard* himself in the Life of *Malachias*. One or two instances peradventure may be alledged out of some obscure Authors, whose Names and Times, and Authority, no man can tell us news of: but unless that which is delivered by *Bernard*, as the Tradition that was current in his time, can be controlled by some Record, that may appear to have been written before his days; we have small reason to detract any thing from the Credit of so clear a Testimony.

[a] *Edm. Camp. History of Ireland. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

This Country was heretofore, for the number of holy Men that lived in it, termed the *Iland of Saints*: Of that innumerable company of Saints, whose Memory was reverenced here; what one received any solemn Canonization from the *Pope*, before *Malachias* Archbishop of *Armagh*, and *Laurence* of *Dublin*? who lived, as it were, but the other day. We read of sundry *Archbishops* that have been in this Land: betwixt the days of St. *Patrick*

rick and of *Malachias*, what one of them can be named, that ever sought for a *Pall* from *Rome*? *Joceline* indeed a late Monk of the Abbey of *Furnesse*, writeth of St. *Patrick*, that the Bishop of *Rome* b conferred the *Pall* upon him, together with the execution of legatine Power in his Room. But he is well known to be a most fabulous Author: And for this particular, *Bernard* (who was his ancient) informeth us far otherwise; that c *from the very beginning unto his time, the metropolitical See of* Armagh *wanted the use of the Pall*. With whom the Author of the Annals of *Mailros* doth fully accord; noting that d *in the Year* 1151. *Pope Eugenius* (the same to whom *Bernard* did write his Books *de Consideratione*) *did by his Legate* John Papiron *transmit four Palls into* Ireland; *whither a Pall before had never been brought*. And therefore *Giraldus Cambrensis*, howsoever he acknowledgeth that St. *Patrick* did e *choose* Armagh *for his Seat, and did appoint it to be as it were a metropolitical Set, and the proper place of the Primacy of all* Ireland; yet doth he affirm without thinking it any deed f *there were no Archbishops in* Ireland, *but that Bishops only did consecrate one another, until Johannes Papiro* (or *Papiro*) *the Pope's Legate brought four Palls thither*. Whereupon some of our Chroniclers after him, give this note concerning *Gelasius*, who was at that time Archbishop of *Armagh*; that g *he is said to have been the first Archbishop, because he used the first Pall*: and that *others before him were called Archbishops and Primates in name only, for the reverence of St.* Patrick, *as the Apostle of that Nation*.

b Pallio decoravit, illique vices suas committens atque legatum suum constituens, quæcunque in Hibernia gesserat, confirmavit, disposuerat, auctoritatis suæ munimine confirmavit. *Jocelin. vit. Patr. cap.* 166.

c Metropoliticæ sedi decerat adhuc, & defuerat ab initio pallii usus. *Bernard. vit. Malach.*

d Anno 1151. Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia per legatum suum Johannem Papirum transmisit in Hiberniam, qui nonnullos annè pallium debitum fecit. *Annal. Melrof. M. S. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana.* e Apud Ardmachanam sibi sedem elegit, quam etiam quasi metropolim constituit & proprium totius Hiberniæ primatiæ locum. *Giral. Cambr. Topograph. Hibern. Distinct.* 3. *cap.* 16. f Archiepiscopi verò in Hibernia nulli fuerant; sed tantùm se Episcopi invicem consecrabant: donec Johannes Papyro Romanæ sedis legatus, non multis retrò annis advenit. Hic quatuor pallia in Hiberniam portavit, &c. *Ibid. cap.* 17. g Hic primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia ipse primo pallio usus est. Alii verò ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur; ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Ponbrigius, author. Annal. Hibern. & Cust. Camden. edit. Thomas Caius in Chronic. Hibern. M. S. ad ann.* 1174.

And indeed it might seem, that the complaint made by *Anselm* in his Letters to *Murtardach* King of *Ireland*, that h Bi-

h Episcopi quoque (qui debent esse forma & exemplum aliis Canonicæ religionis) inordinate, sicut audivimus, aut à solis Episcopis, aut in locis ubi ordinari non debent, consecrantur. *Anselm. lib.* 3. *epist.* 141.

shops

shops here *were consecrated by Bishops alone*, might somewhat justifie the truth of *Giraldus* his Relation; if we did not find a further Complaint there also, that they were often [l] *ordained by one Bishop only*. But as this latter argueth, not the want of a competent number of Bishops in the land (for, as we shall hear presently, they had more than a sufficient number of such) but a Neglect of the Observance of the Canon provided by the *Nicene* Fathers in that behalf: so can it not rightly be inferred out of the former, that we had no Archbishops here at that time, but that the Bishops rather did fail much in the Canonical Respect, which they ought to shew unto their Metropolitan. For that the *Irish* had their Archbishops (beside many other pregnant Testimonies that might be produced) Pope *Hildebrands* own Brief doth sufficiently manifest; which is directed [k] to *Terdelnachus* (or *Tirlagh*) *the illustrious King* of Ireland, *the* ARCHBISHOPS, *Bishops, Abbots, Nobles, and all Christians inhabiting Ireland*. And for the Archbishops of *Armagh* in particular; it appeareth most evidently by *Bernard* in the life of *Malachias*, that they were so far from being Metropolitans and Primates *in name only*; that they exercised much greater Authority, before they were put to the charges of fetching Palls from *Rome*, than ever they did afterward: and that they did not only consecrate Bishops, but erected also new *Bishopricks*, and *Archbishopricks* too sometimes, according as they thought fitting.

We read in *Nennius*, that at the beginning St. *Patrick* [l] founded here 365. Churches, and ordained 365. Bishops, beside 3000. Presbyters. In process of time the number of Bishops was daily [m] *multiplied according to the pleasure of the Metropolitan*, (whereof *Bernard* doth much complain) and that, not only *so far that every Church almost had a several Bishop*: but also that in some [o] *Towns or Cities there were ordained more* than one; yea and oftentimes [o] *Bishops were made without any certain place at all* assigned unto them. And as for the erecting of new *Archbishopricks*: if

i *Dicitur*, ab uno Episcopo Episcopum, sicut quemlibet presbyterum, ordinari. *Id. ibid. epist.* 147.

k Terdelnacho inclyto Regi Hiberniæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Proceribus, omnibusque Christianis Hiberniam inhabitantibus. *Gregor. VII. epist. ad Hibern. M. S. in Bibliotheca Cotton.*

l Ecclesias fundavit CCCLXV. Ordinavit Episcopos eodem numero CCCXLV. Presbyteros autem usque ad tria millia ordinavit. *Nenn. histor. Britt. M. S.*

m Morabantur & multiplicabantur Episcopi pro libitu Metropolitani; ita ut unus Episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ pene Ecclesiæ singulos haberent Episcopos. *Bernard. vit. Malach.* n Quod in villis, vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. *Lanfranc. Epist. ad Terdelnachum regem Hibern. apud Baron. ann. 1089. num. 16.* o Dicitur, Episcopos in terra vestra passim eligi, & sine certo Episcopatu loco constitui. *Anselm. lib. 3. Epist. 147. ad Muriarthachum regem Hiber.*

we believe our Legends, [p] *King Engus and St. Patrick, with all the people, did ordain, that in the City and See of Albens* (which is *Emelye*, now annexed to *Cashel*) *should be the Archbishoprick of the whole Province of Munster.* In like manner also, [q] *Brandubh King of the Lagenians, with the consent as well of the Laity as of the Clergy, did appoint that in the City of Fernes* (which was the See of *Moedog*, otherwise called *Edanus*) *should be the Archbishoprick of all the Province of Leinster.* But *Bernards* Testimony, we have no reason not to beleive, relating what was known to be done in his own very time: that [r] *Celsus* the Archbishop of *Armagh, had of the new constituted another Metropolitical See, but subject to the first See, and to the Archbishop thereof.* By which we may see, that in the Erection of new Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, all things were here done at home, without consulting with the See of *Rome* for the matter.

[p] Rex Engus & S. Patricius, cum omni populo ordinaverunt Archiepiscopatum Mumeniæ in civitate & in sede sancti Albei, qui tunc ab eisdem Archiepiscopus ordinatus est, per seculum. *Ex vitâ S. Declani.* Rex Engus & Patricius ordinaverunt, ut in civitate & cathedrâ sancti Albei esset Archiepiscopatus omnium Memonensium semper. *Ex vitâ S. Albei.*

[q] Factâ Synodo magnâ in terrâ Laginensium, decrevit rex Brandubh, & tam laici quàm clerici, ut Archiepiscopatus omnium Laginensium semper esset in sede & cathedrâ sancti Moedog. Et tunc sanctus Moedog à multis catholicis consecratus est Archiepiscopus. *Ex vit. S. Edani.* A rege jam Laginensium Brandubh filio Æthach constituitur est, ut Archiepiscopatus Laginensium in civitate sancti Moedog esset. Ipsa civitas vocatur Ferna, quæ est in terrâ gentis Kenselach. *Ex vit. S. Molyng.* [r] Erat & altera Metropolitica sedes, quam de novo constituerat Celsus, primæ tamen sedi & illius Archiepiscopo subdita tanquam primati. *Bernard. in vitâ Malachiæ.*

As for the Nomination and Confirmation of the Archbishops and Bishops themselves: we find the manner of advancing St. *Livinus* to his Archbishoprick, thus laid down by *Boniface* in the description of his Life. [s] *When Menalchus the Archbishop was dead, Calomagnus the King* of Scots, *and the troop of his Officers, with the under-Courtiers, and the concourse of all that Country, with the same Affection of heart cryed out, that the holy Priest* Livinus *was most worthily to be advanced unto the honour of this Order. The King* (*more devout than all of them*) *consenting thereunto, three or four times placed the blessed Man in the Chair of the Archbishoprick with due Honour, according to the will of the Lord.* In like manner also did [t] King *Ecgfrid* cause our *Cuthbert* to be ordained Bishop of the

Illo defuncto, Rex Calomagnus, & ejus Palatinorum chorus cum suis subtulicis, totiusque regionis illius confluentiâ pari cordis affectu conclamavêrunt, sanctum Sacerdotem Livinum in honorem hujus ordinis dignissimè sublimandum fore. His Rex omnibus devotior consentiens, ter quaterque beatum virum in cathedrâ Archiepiscopatûs debito honore, Domino jubente, collocavit. *Bonifac. vit. Livin.* [t] Rex Ecgfridus Episcopum fecit ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesiæ virum sanctum & venerabilem Cudbertum. *Bed. lib. 4. hist. cap. 27. & Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 24.*

Church

Church of *Landisfarne*; and King *Pipin* [u] granted the Biſhoprick of *Salzburg* to our *Virgilius*: and Duke *Gunzo* would have [x] conferred the Biſhoprick of *Conſtance* upon our *Gallus*; but that he refuſed it, and [y] cauſed another upon his Recommendation to be preferred thereunto.

[u] Epiſcopatum Salzbergenſem, pro debito regiæ magnificentiæ, ſancto conceſſit Virgilio.

Vit. Epiſc. Salisburgenſ. tom. 2. Antiqu. lect. Henr. Caniſ. pag. 259. & tom. 6. pag. 1174. [x] *Walafrid. Strab. Vit. Gall. lib. 1. cap. 16, 17, 19, 20.* [y] *Theodor. Campidonenſ. vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Magni, lib. 1. cap. 8. edit. Goldaſti, 10. Caniſii.*

In the Book of *Landaffe*, which is called *Tilo* (either from *Telian* the ſecond Biſhop of that place, whoſe Life is largely there deſcribed; or rather from the place it ſelf, which of old was called * *Teilo*) we read that *Germanus* and *Lupus* [z] did conſecrate chief Doctor over all the *Brittains*, inhabiting the right ſide of *Brittany*, St. *Dubricius*, being choſen Archbiſhop by the King and all the Dioceſs: and that by the grant of *Mouric* the King, the Nobility, Clergy, and People, they appointed his Epiſcopal See to be at *Landaff*. That [a] *Oudoceus*, the third Biſhop after him, being elected by King *Mouric*, and the chief of the Clergy and Laity of the whole Dioceſs, was by them ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* for his Conſecration. That [b] *Gucaunus* (the 26th. Biſhop of that Church) was conſecrated by *Dunſtan* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; the paſtoral Staff being given him in the Court by *Edgar* chief King of the *Engliſh*. That next after him, [c] in the year 983. Election being made by the Kings

* *In the Laws of* Howel Dha *it is named* Eccleſia Teilau: *and ſo in* Caradoc *of* Lhancarvan's *Chronicle of* Wales, *pag.* 94. Joſeph *is called Biſhop of* Teilo, *or* Landaff.

[z] Super omnes Britannos dextralis partis Britanniæ B. Dubricium ſummum Doctorem, à Rege & ab omni parochiâ electum Archiepiſcopum, conſecraverunt: Hâc dignitate ei à Germano & Lupo datâ, conſtituerunt ei Epiſcopalem ſedem conceſſu Mourici Regis, Principum, Cleri & populi, apud Podium Lantavi. *Lib. Eccleſia Landavenſis, M. S.*

[a] Electione Cleri & populi ſuccedit in Epiſcopatu Landavenſis Eccleſiæ, electione cleri Mereguini & Elgoreti & Gunnuini magiſtri; & trium Abbatum, Catgen abbatis Illduti, Concenn abbatis Catmaili, Cenig abbatis Docguluni; laicorum, Regis Mouridi, & filiorum Athruis & Idnerth, Guidgen & Cetiau, Brogmail, Gendoc, Louhonerd, Cingalaryr, & omnium principum totius parochiæ. Miſſus eſt S. Oudoceus cum clericis ſuis prædictis (Merchui & Elguoret & Gunubui) cum legatis trium Abbatum & Regis & Principum, ad Dorobernenſem civitatem ad beatum Archiepiſcopum; ubi ſacratus eſt Eccleſiæ Landaviæ in honore S. Petri fundatæ. *Ibid.*

[b] DCCCCLXXXII. (vel DCCCLXXII. potius) Incarnationis Domini anno, Gucaunus Epiſcopus Landaviæ conſecratus à Metropolitano Dunſtano Dorobernenſis Eccleſiæ Archiepiſcopo, datâ ſibi virgâ paſtorali in regali curiâ à ſummo Rege Anglorum Ædgaro. *Ibid.*

[c] DCCCCLXXXIII. anno, electione factâ regum Morcannuc, Outtiin, Videlicet & Idguallaun, Catell & Cinuin filiorum Morchianthen, Rotri & Griſud filiorum Elired, & totius Cleri & populi Morcannuc infra horrum Tarafir in Gui & hortum Tivi poſiti: & dato ſibi baculo in regali curiâ à ſummo Rege Anglorum Adelredo, & à metropolitano Dorobernenſis Eccleſiæ Albrico Archiepiſcopo, Bleiri Epiſcopus Landaviæ conſecratus eſt; & 1022o. anno Incarnationis Domini, ordinationis ſuæ autem 39o. anno, migravit ad Dominum. *Ibid.*

and

and the whole Clergy and people of *Glamorgan*, and the pastoral Staff given in the Court by *Ethelred* chief King of the *English*; *Bledri* was consecrated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who is there named *Albricus*, (though in truth, at the year here assigned, *Dunstan* did still hold the place) and that after his decease in the Year 1022. [d] by the Election of the people and Clergy of *Landaff*, and the Kings of the *Brittains* (namely King *Riderch* that reigned at that time through all *Wales*, and *Hivel* the Substitute of the King of *Glamorgan*) *Joseph* was consecrated Bishop by *Ælnod* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at the word of *Cnute* King of *England*, in whose Court the Pastoral staff was given unto him.

[d] MXXII. an. Incarnationis Domini, consecratus est Joseph Episcopus Landaviæ, Cantuariæ à metropolitano Doroborneusis Ecclesiæ Ælnod Archiepiscopo, in Kalendis Octobris, & in primo (vel XVI. poriùs) anno Cycli decennovennalis, verbo Regis Anglorum Cnute, & dato sibi baculo in Curiâ illius: electione populi & cleri Landaviæ, & Regum Brittanniæ, regis videlicèt Riderch regnantis per totam Gualiam tunc tempore, & Hivel subreguli regis Moreannuc infra hortum Taratir in Gui & hortum Tivi regnantis. *Ibid.*

Here in *Ireland* much after the same manner, Mr. *Campion* himself setteth down, that [f] *to the Monarch was granted a negative in the Nomination of Bishops at every Vacation: the Clergy and Layety of the Diocess recommending him to their King, the King to the Monarch, the Monarch to the Archbishop of* Canterbury. Although this last clause be wrongly extended by him to the Bishops of the whole Land, which properly belonged to the *Ostmann* Strangers, that possessed the [g] three Cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford*, and *Limerick*. For these being a Colony of the *Norwegians* and *Livonians*, and so Countrey-men to the *Normans*, when they had seen *England* subdued by the Conqueror, and *Normans* advanced to the chief Archbishoprick there; would needs now assume to themselves the name of [h] *Normans* also, and cause their Bishops to receive their Consecration, from no other Metropolitan but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And forasmuch as they were confined within the Walls of their own Cities: the Bishops which they made, had no other Diocess to exercise their Jurisdiction in, but only the bare Circuit of those Cities. Whereupon we find a Certificate made unto Pope *Innocent* the *Third* in the Year 1216. by the Archbishop of *Tuam*, and his Suffragans; that [i] *John Papiron the Legate of the Church of* Rome *coming*

[f] *Edm. Campion. Histor. Hibern. lib. 1. cap. ult. ad annum* 948.

[g] *Girald. Cambrens. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 43.*

[h] Eodem tempore Norwagenses sive Ostmanni, qui civitates Hiberniæ & maritima occupaverunt, Normanni vocati sunt. *Annal. Dublin. ad ann.* 1095.

[i] Dominus Johannes Papiron legatus Romanæ Ecclesiæ veniens in Hiberniam, invenit *Dublin* Episcopum habentem, qui tantùm intra muros Episcopale officium exercebat. *Testimon. Tuamens. Archiepisc. in Registro Dublin. Archiepisc. & nigro libro Ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis.*

ing into Ireland, *found that* Dublin *indeed had a Bishop, but such an one as did exercise his Episcopal Office within the Walls only.*

The first Bishop which they had in *Dublin* (as it appeareth by the Records of that Church) was one *Donatus*, or *Dunanus*, as others call him: upon whose death, in the Year 1074. [k] *Gothric* their King, with the consent of the Clergy and people of *Dublin*, chose one *Patrick* for their Bishop, and directed him into *England* to be consecrated by *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: who sent him back with commendatory [l] Letters, as well to the said *Gothric* King of the *Ostmans*, as to *Terdeluacus* the chief King or Monarch of the *Irish*. Hereupon, after the decease of this *Patrick*, [m] in the Year 1085. the same *Terdeluacus* and the Bishops of *Ireland* joyned with the Clergy, and People of *Dublin*, in the Election of *Donatus*, one of *Lanfranc's* own Monks in *Canterbury*: who was by him there also consecrated. Then when he died, in the Year 1095. his nephew *Samuel*, a Monk of St. *Albans*, but born in *Ireland*, was [n] chosen Bishop in his place by *Murtertach* King of *Ireland*, and the Clergy and people of the City: by whose common Decree he was also sent unto *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* for his Consecration. Not long after, the *Waterfordians*, following the Example of the *Dublinians*, erected a Bishoprick among themselves; [o] and sent their new Bishop to *Canterbury* for his Consecration. The manner of whose Election, *the Clergy and people of Waterford* in the letters, which they wrote at that time unto *Anselme*, do thus intimate. [p] *We and our King* Murchertach, *and* Dofnald *the Bishop, and* Dermeth *our Captain the Kings Brother, have made choice of this Priest* Malchus, *a Monk of* Walkeline *Bishop of* Winchester. The same Man, without doubt, who was afterward promoted to the Bishoprick of *Lismore*; so much commended by *Bernard* in the Life of *Malachias*.

[k] Ad regimen Dublinensis Ecclesiæ Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, petente Godefico rege, Dublinensis Ecclesiæ populo & clero consentientibus & eligentibus, in Ecclesiâ sancti Pauli Londin. Patricium sacravit Antistitem. *Annal. Dublin. ad annum* 1074.

[l] *Habentur apud Baron. an.* 1089. *num.* 12. & 14.

[m] Anno Dom. 1085. Lanfrancus Archiepiscopus Cantuar. ad regimen Dublinensis Ecclesiæ sacravit Donatum monasterii sui monachum in sede metropoli Cantuar. petentibus atque eligentibus cum Terdeluaco Hiberniæ Rege, & Episcopis Hiberniæ regionis, atque clero & populo præfatæ civitatis. *Annal. Dublin.*

[n] A Rege Hiberniæ, Murierdach nomine, necnon à clero & populo in Episcopatum ipsius civitatis electus est; atque ad Anselmum, juxta morem antiquum, sacrandus cum communi decreto directus. *Eadmer. Histor. Novor. lib.* 2. *pag.* 34.

[o] *Ibid. pag.* 36.

[p] Nos & Rex noster Murchertachus, & Episcopus Dofnaldus, & Dermath Dux noster frater Regis, elegimus hunc Presbyterum Malchum, Walkelini Wintoniensis Episcopi Monachum, nobis sufficientissimè cognitum, &c.

The last Bishop of *Dublin* in the Year 1122. was sent unto *Anselm's* next Successor for his Consecration: touching which I have

I have seen this writ of King *Henry* the First directed unto him:

Henricus Rex Anglia, Radulpho Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, salutem. * *Mandavit mihi Rex Hibernia per Breve suum, & Burgenses* Dublinias, *quod elegerunt hunc Gregorium in Episcopum, & eum tibi mittunt consecrandum. Unde tibi mando, ut petitioni eorum satisfaciens, ejus consecrationem sine delatione expleas. Teste Ranulpho Cancellario apud Windelsor.*

Henry *King of* England, *to* Ralph, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *greeting. The King of* Ireland *hath intimated unto me by his Writ, and the Burgesses of* Dublin, *that they have chosen this* Gregory *for their Bishop, and send him unto you to be consecrated. Wherefore I wish you, that satisfying their Request, you perform his Consecration without delay. Witness* Ranulph *our Chancellour at* Windsor.

* *ut apud Graecos κολάω non est semper συντυχαι λέξις; quemadmodum ad Iliad. λ. notatum est ab Eustathio (pag. 884. & 831. edit. Roman.) sed aliquando respondet τῷ ἀξιῶν & τῷ ἐπιτρέπειν: ita & vox* Mando, *apud Latinos mediae aetatis scriptores, ut apud Vincentium, verbi gratiâ, lib. 30. Specul. Historial. cap. 130.* (humiliter ei mandaverunt.) *& hoc in loco.*

All the Burgesses of *Dublin* likewise, and the whole Assembly of the Clergy, directed their joint Letters to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* the same time; wherein among other things they write thus: ¶ *Know you for verity, that the Bishops of* Ireland *have great indignation toward us, and that Bishop most of all that dwelleth at* Armagh: *because we will not obey their Ordination, but will always be under your Government.* Whereby we may see, that as the *Ostmans* were desirous to sever themselves from the *Irish*, and to be esteemed *Normans* rather: so the *Irish* Bishops on the other side, howsoever they digested in some sort the Recourse which they had to *Lanfranc* and *Anselme* (who were two of the most famous Men in their times, and with whom they themselves were desirous to hold all good Correspondence) yet could they not well brook this Continuation of their Dependance upon a Metropolitan of another Kingdom; which they conceived to be somewhat derogatory to the dignity of their own Primate. But this Jealousie continued not long: For this same *Gregory* being afterwards made *Archbishop* of *Dublin*, and the Bishopricks here settled by *Johannes Papiro*; as well they of *Dublin*, as the others

¶ Sciatis vos reverà, quòd Episcopi Hiberniæ maximum zelum erga nos habent, & maximè ille Episcopus qui habitat Ardimachæ: quia nos nolumus obedire eorum ordinationi, sed semper sub vestro dominio esse volumus. *M. S. ad calcem Collectionis Isidori Mercatoris, in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*

others of *Waterford* and *Limerick* (for they alſo had one *Patrick* conſecrated Biſhop unto them by *Theobald* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*) did ever after that time ceaſe to have any relation unto the See of *Canterbury*.

And now to go forward: As the Kings and people of this Land in thoſe elder times, kept the nominations of their Archbiſhops and Biſhops in their own hands, and depended not upon the *Popes* proviſions that way: ſo do we not find by any approved Record of Antiquity, that any *Viſitations* of the Clergy were held in the *Popes* name; much leſs that any *Indulgences* were ſought for by our people at his hands. For, as the [r] *Charter of St. Patrick*, (by ſome intituled, *De antiquitate Avalonicâ*) wherein [s] *Phaganus* and *Deruvianus* are ſaid to have purchaſed *ten* or *thirty* Years of Indulgences from Pope *Eleutherius*; and St. *Patrick* himſelf to have procured *twelve* Years in his time from Pope *Celeſtinus*: it might eaſily be demonſtrated (if this were a place for it) that it is a meer Figment, deviſed by the Monks of *Glaſtenbury*. Neither do I well know, what credit is to be given unto that ſtragling Sentence, which I find aſcribed unto the ſame Author. [t] *If any queſtions do ariſe in this Iſland, let them be referred to the See Apoſtolick.* Or that other Decree, attributed to *Auxilius*, *Patricius*, *Secundinus* and *Benignus*. [u] *Whenſoever any Cauſe that is very difficult, and unknown unto all the Judges of the Scottiſh Nations, ſhall ariſe; it is rightly to be referred to the See of the Archbiſhop of the Iriſh* (*to wit*, Patrick) *and to the Examination of the Prelate thereof. But if there, by him and his wiſe men, a Cauſe of this nature cannot eaſily be made up: we have decreed, it ſhall be ſent to the See Apoſtolick; that is to ſay, to the Chair of the Apoſtle* Peter, *which hath the Authority of the City of* Rome. Only this I will ſay, that as it is moſt likely, that St. *Patrick* had a ſpecial Regard unto the Church of *Rome*, from whence he was ſent for the Converſion of this Iſland: ſo if I my ſelf had lived in his days, for the Reſolution of a doubtful

[r] Charta S. Patricii, *in Guilielmi Malmsburienſis libello de Antiquitate Glaſtonienſis Eccleſiæ. M. S.*

[s] In ſcriptis reſentioribus inveni, quòd ſancti Phaganus & Deruvianus perquiſierant ab Eleutherio Papâ, qui eos miſerat, X. (*al.* XXX.) annos indulgentiæ. Et ego frater Patricius à plæ memoriæ Cœleſtino Papâ XII. annos tempore meo acquiſivi. *Ibid.*

[t] Patricius alt. Si quæ quæſtiones in hâc inſulâ oriuntur, ad ſedem Apoſtolicam referantur. *Vet. Collect. Canonum. Bibliotheca Cottoniana*, cujus initium: Synodicorum exemplariorum innumeroſitatem conſpiciens.

[u] Quæcunque cauſa valdè difficilis exorta fuerit, atque ignota cunctis Scotorum Gentium judiciis; ad Cathedram Archiepiſcopi Hibernenſium (id eſt, Patricii) atque hujus auditûs examinationem rectè referenda. Si verò in illâ, cum ſuis ſapientibus, facile ſanari non poterit talis cauſa prædictæ negotiationis: ad ſedem Apoſtolicam decrevimus eſſe mittendam; id eſt, ad Petri Apoſtoli Cathedram, auctoritatem *Romæ* Urbis habentem. Hi ſunt qui de hoc decreverunt: id eſt, Auxilius, Patricius, Secundinus, Benignus. *Vet. Codex Eccleſiæ Armachanæ.*

question I should as willingly have listened to the Judgment of the Church of *Rome*, as to the determination of any Church in the whole world; so reverend an Estimation have I of the Integrity of that Church, as it stood in those days. But that St. *Patrick* was of Opinion, that the Church of *Rome* was sure ever afterward to continue in that good Estate, and that there was a perpetual Priviledge annexed unto that See, that it should never err in Judgment, or that the Popes Sentences were always to be held as infallible Oracles; that will I never believe: Sure I am, that my Countrymen after him were of a far other belief; who were so far from submitting themselves in this sort, to whatsoever should proceed from the See of *Rome*, that they oftentimes stood out against it, when they had little cause so to do. For proof whereof I need to seek no further, than to those very Allegations which have been lately urged, for maintenance of the Supremacy of the Pope and Church of *Rome* in this Country.

First, Mr. *Coppinger* cometh upon us, with this wise Question. x *Was not* Ireland *among other Countries absolved from the Pelagian Heresie by the Church of* Rome, *as* Cæsar Baronius *writeth?* then he setteth down the Copy of St. *Gregories* y Epistle, in answer unto the *Irish* Bishops that submitted themselves unto him. And concludeth in the end, that *the Bishops of* Ireland *being infected with the Pelagian Error, sought absolution first of* Pelagius *the Pope: but the same was not effectually done, until St.* Gregory *did it.* But in all this he doth nothing else but bewray his own Ignorance. For neither can he shew it in *Cæsar Baronius*; or in any other Author whatsoever, that the *Irish* Bishops did ever seek Absolution from Pope *Pelagius*; or that the one had to deal in any business at all with the other. Neither yet can he shew that ever they had to do with St. *Gregory*, in any matter that did concern the *Pelagian* Heresie. For these be Dreams of *Coppinger's* own idle head. The Epistle of St. *Gregory*, dealeth only with the Controversie of the *three Chapters*, which were condemned by the *fifth* general Council; whereof *Baronius* writeth thus. z *All the Bishops that were in* Ireland, *with most earnest*

x *Copping. Mnemosynum to the Catholicks of* Ireland, *lib.* 2. *cap.* 3.

y *Gregor. lib.* 2. *epist.* 36. *Indict.* 10.

z Ardentissimo studio pro trium Capitulorum defensione, junctis animis omnes qui in Hiberniâ erant Episcopi, insurrexere. Addiderunt & illud nefas, ut cùm percepissent Romanam Ecclesiam æquè suscepisse. Trium damnationum capitulorum, atque suo consensu Quintam Synodum roborâsse: ab eâdem pariter resilierint, atque reliquis qui vel in *Italiâ*, vel in *Africâ*, aliisve regionibus erant schismaticis inhæserint; fiduciâ illâ vanâ erecti, quòd pro fide Catholicâ starent, cùm quæ essent in Concilio Chalcedonensi statuta defenderent. *Baron. Annal. tom.* 7. *an.* 566. *num.* 21.

study

ſtudy, roſe up jointly for the defence of the Three Chapters. And when they perceived that the Church of Rome *did both receive the Condemnation of the Three Chapters, and ſtrengthen the fifth Synod with her conſent: they departed from her, and clave to the reſt of the Schiſmaticks, that were either in* Italy, *or in* Africk, *or in other Countries; animated with that vain Confidence, that they did ſtand for the Catholick Faith, while they defended thoſe things that were concluded in the Council of* Chalcedon. [a] And *ſo much the more fixedly* (ſaith he) *did they cleave to their Error, becauſe whatſoever* Italy *did ſuffer by Commotions of War, by Famine or Peſtilence, all theſe unhappy things they thought did therefore befall unto it, becauſe it had undertaken to fight for the fifth Synod againſt the Council of* Chalcedon.

[a] Sed eo fixiùs inhærent errori, eùmquæcunque Italia paſſa ſit bellorum motibus, fame, vel peſtilentiâ, eâ ex cauſâ illi cuncta infauſta accidiſſe putarent, quòd pro Quintâ Synodo adverſus Chalcedonenſe Concilium prælium ſuſcepiſſet. *Ibid.*

Thus far *Baronius*; out of whoſe Narration this may be collected, that the Biſhops of *Ireland* did not take all the Reſolutions of the Church of *Rome* for undoubted Oracles; but when they thought that they had better Reaſon on their ſides, they preferred the judgment of other Churches before it. Wherein how peremptory they were, when they wrote unto St. *Gregory* of the matter; may eaſily be perceived by theſe parcels of the Anſwer, which he returned unto their Letters. [b] *The firſt entry of your Epiſtle hath notified, that you ſuffer a grievous Perſecution: which Perſecution indeed, when it is not ſuſtained for a reaſonable Cauſe, doth profit nothing unto Salvation.* And [c] *therefore it is very unfit, that you ſhould glory of that Perſecution, as you call it, by which it is certain you cannot be promoted to everlaſting Rewards.* [d] *And whereas you write, that ſince that time among other Provinces,* Italy *hath been moſt afflicted; you ought not to object that unto it as a reproach: becauſe it is written: Whom the Lord loveth he chaſteneth, and ſcourgeth every Son that he receiveth.* Then having

[b] Prima itaq; epiſtolæ veſtræ frons, gravem vos pati perſecutionem innotuit. Quæ quidem perſecutio dum non rationabiliter ſuſtinetur, nequaquam proficit ad ſalutem.

Gregor. Regeſt. lib. 2. epiſt. 36. [c] Dum igitur ita ſit, incongruum nimis eſt de ea vos, quam dicitis, perſecutione gloriari, per quam vos conſtat ad æterna præmia minimè provehi. *Ibid.* [d] Quod autem ſcribitis, quia ex illo tempore inter alias provincias maximè flagelletur Italia; non hoc ad ejus debetis intorquere opprobrium: quoniam ſcriptum eſt; Quem diligit Dominus, caſtigat, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit. *Ibid.*

ſpoken of the Book that Pope *Pelagius* did write of this Controverſie (which indeed was penned by *Gregory* himſelf) he addeth; e *If after the reading of this Book, you will perſiſt in that deliberation, wherein now you are; without doubt you ſhew, that you give your ſelves to be ruled not by Reaſon, but by Obſtinacy.* By all which you may ſee, what credit is to be given unto the man, who would bear us in hand, that this Epiſtle of St. *Gregory* was ſent as an Anſwer unto the Biſhops of *Ireland*, that did ſubmit themſelves unto him: whereas (to ſay nothing of the f Copies, wherein this Epiſtle is noted to have been written to the Biſhops of *Iberiâ*, and not, in *Hibernia*) the leaſt Argument of any ſubmiſſion doth not appear in any part of that Epiſtle; but the whole courſe of it doth clearly manifeſt the flat contrary.

e Porrò autem ſi poſt hujus libri lectionem in ea qua eſtis, volueritis deliberatione perſiſtere; ſine dubio non ratione operam, ſed obſtinationi vos dare monſtratis. *Ibid.*

f *Vid. Roman. Correct. in Gratian. De conſecrat. diſtinct. 4. cap.* 144. Ab antiqua.

In the next place ſteppeth forth *Oſſullevan Beare*; who in his *Catholick Hiſtory of Ireland*, would have us take knowledge of this, that g *when the Iriſh Doctors did not agree together upon great queſtions of Faith, or did hear of any new Doctrine brought from abroad, they were wont to conſult with the Biſhop of* Rome, *the Oracle of Truth.* That they conſulted with the Biſhop of *Rome*, when difficult Queſtions did ariſe, we eaſily grant: but that they thought they were bound in Conſcience to ſtand to his Judgment, whatſoever it ſhould be, and to entertain all his Reſolutions as certain *Oracles of Truth*; is the point that we would fain ſee proved. For this he telleth us, that h *when Queſtions and Diſputations did ariſe here concerning the time of* Eaſter *and the Pelagian Hereſie; the Doctors of* Ireland *referred the matter unto the See Apoſtolick. Whereupon, the Errour of* Pelagius *is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in* Ireland: *and the common courſe of celebrating* Eaſter *was embraced both by the Nor-*

g Quando verò Doctores Iberalci de gravibus fidei quæſtionibus minimè conſentiebant, vel aliquid novi dogmatis peregrè allati audiebant; ſolitî erant Romanum Pontificem veritatis Oraculum conſulere. *Philip. Oſſullevan. Bear. hiſt. Catholic. Ibern. tom. 1. lib. 4. cap.* 6.

h Namque de tempore agendi Paſchatis ſolennia (de quo aliæ quoque Catholicæ gentes ſæpè ambigerunt) & de Pelagianâ hæreſi ubi fuit in quæſtionem diſputationemque deducta; Doctores Iberni ad Sedem Apoſtolicam retulerunt. Ac ita miſeri Pelagii error nullum in Iberniâ patronum vel aſſertorem invenîſſe fertur; vel inſulæ aditu interclusus, vel ab ea protinùs explosus, ubi contagioſam faciem aperuit, ſeſeque cognoſcendum præbuit: & ratio communis & ab Eccleſia uſitata celebrandi redivivi Domini feſtum ab Auſtralibus Iberniâ fuit ſemper obſervata; & à Septentrionalibus quoque & Pictis & Britonibus, qui Doctoribus Ibernis fidem acceperunt, amplexa, ubi Eccleſiæ Romanæ ritum cognoverunt. Quod ex Apoſtolicarum literarum duplici capite à Beda relato non obſcurè conſtat. *Ibid.*

Ibern

thern Iriſh, and by the Picts and Brittains, as ſoon as they underſtood the Rite of the Romane Church. Which (ſaith he) *doth not obſcurely appear by the two heads of the Apoſtolick Letters, related by* Bede, lib. 2. cap. 19.

But that thoſe *Apoſtolick Letters* (as he calleth them) had that ſucceſs which he talketh of, appeareth neither plainly nor obſcurely by *Bede*, or any other Authority whatſoever. *The Errour of Pelagius*, ſaith he, *is reported to have found no patron or maintainer in Ireland.* But who is he that reporteth ſo, beſide *Philip Oſſullevan*? a worthy Author to ground a report of Antiquity upon: who in relating the matters that fell out in his own time, diſcovereth himſelf to be as egregious a Lyer, as any (I verily think) that this day breatheth in *Chriſtendom*. The *Apoſtolick Letters* he ſpeaketh of, were written (as before hath been touched) in the Year of our Lord DCXXXIX. during the vacancy of the Romane See, upon the death of *Severinus*. Our Countryman *Kilianus* repaired to *Rome* 47. Years after that, and was ordained Biſhop there by Pope *Conon* in the Year DCLXXXVI. The reaſon of his coming thither, is thus laid down by *Egilwardus*, or who ever elſe was the Author of his Life. i *For Ireland had been of old defiled with the Pelagian Hereſie, and condemned by the Apoſtolical Cenſure, which could not be looſed but by the Romane Judgment.* If this be true; then that is falſe which *Oſſullevan* reporteth of the effect of his *Apoſtolical Epiſtle*, that it did ſo preſently quaſh the *Pelagian* Hereſie, as it durſt not once peep up within this Iſland.

i Hibernia ſiquidem olim Pelagianâ fœdata fuerat hæreſi, Apoſtolicaque cenſurâ damnata, quæ niſi Romano judicio ſolvi non poterat. *Author antiqu. Vit. Kilian.*

CHAP. IX.

Of the Controverſie which the Brittains, Picts, *and* Iriſh *maintained againſt the Church of* Rome, *touching the Celebration of* Eaſter.

THe difference betwixt the *Romans* and the *Iriſh* in the Celebration of *Eaſter*, conſiſted in this. The *Romans* kept the memorial of our Lord's Reſurrection upon that Sunday, which fell betwixt the XV. and the XXI. day of the Moon (both terms in-

included) next after the XXI. day of *March*; which they accounted to be the seat of the *Vernal æquinoctium*, that is to say, that time of the Spring wherein the day and the night were of an equal length. And in reckoning the age of the Moon they followed the *Alexandrian* Cycle of XIX. Years (whence our *golden number* had his original) as it was explained unto them by *Dionisius Exiguus*: which is the account that is still observed, not only in the Church of *England*, but also among all the Christians of *Greece*, *Russia*, *Asia*, *Ægypt*, and *Æthiopia*; and was (since the time that I my self was born) generally received in all *Christendome*, until the late change of the Kalendar was made by Pope *Gregory the* XIII. The Northern *Irish* and *Scottish*, together with the *Picts* observed the Custom of the *Brittains*: [a] keeping their *Easter* upon the Sunday that fell betwixt the XIIII. and the XX. day of the Moon; and following in their Account thereof, not the XIX. Years Computation of *Anatolius*, [b] but *Sulpicius Severus* his Circle of LXXXIIII. Years. For howsoever they extolled *Anatolius* [c] for appointing (as they supposed) the bounds of *Easter* betwixt the XIIII. and the XX. day of the Moon; yet *Wilfride* in the Synod of *Strenshal* chargeth them utterly to have rejected his Cycle of XIX. Years: from which therefore *Cummianus* draweth an Argument against them; that [d] *they can never come to the true account of* Easter, *who observe the Cycle of* LXXXIIII. *years*.

[a] Non enim Paschæ diem Dominicum suo tempore, sed à decimaquarta usque ad vicesimam Lunam observabant. Quæ computatio 84. annorum circulo continetur. *Bed. lib. 2. hist. cap. 2.*

[b] Porrò isti secundùm decennem novemque Anatolii computatum, aut potiùs juxta Sulpicii Severini regulam, qui LXXXIV. annorum cursum descripsit, XIV. Lunâ cum Judæis Paschale sacramentum celebrant: cùm neutrum Ecclesiæ Romanæ Pontifices ad perfectam calculi rationem sequantur. *Aldelm. epist. ad Geruntium regem & Domnonios; inter epistolas Bonifacii, num. 44.* [c] *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 3. & 25. Vid. Dyonisii Petavii notas in Epiphan. pag. 194. 495.* [d] Ad veram Paschæ rationem nunquam pervenire eos, qui cyclum LXXXIV. annorum observant. *Cummian. epist. ad Segienum abbat. de Disputatione Lunæ. M. S. in Bibliothec. Cottonian.*

To reduce the *Irish* unto Conformity with the Church of *Rome* in this point, Pope *Honorius* (the *first* of that name) directed his Letters unto them: [e] *Exhorting them, that they would not esteem their own paucity, seated in the utmost borders of the Earth, more wise than the ancient or modern Churches of Christ through the whole world; and that they would not celebrate another*

[e] Exhortans, ne paucitatem suam in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiorem antiquis sive modernis, quæ per Orbem terræ erant, Christi Ecclesiis æstimarent: neve contra Paschales computos, & decreta synodalium totius Orbis Pontificum aliud Pascha celebrarent. *Bed. lib. 2. hist. cap. 19.*

Easter

Easter contrary to the Paschal Computations, and the Synodal Decrees of the Bishops of the whole world. And shortly after, the Clergy of *Rome* (as we have said) upon the death of *Severinus*, wrote other Letters unto them to the same effect. Now where *Ussherus* avoucheth, that *the common Custom used by the Church, in Celebrating the Feast of the Lord's Resurrection, was always observed by the Southern Irish*; and now *embraced also by the Northern, together with the* Picts *and* Brittains (*who received the Faith from Irish Doctors*) *when they had knowledge given them of the Rite of the Church of Rome*: in all this (according to his common wont) he speaketh never a true word. For neither did the *Southern Irish* always observe the Celebration of *Easter* commonly received abroad: neither did the *Northern Irish*, nor the *Picts*, nor the *Brittains*, many years after this Admonition given by the Church of *Rome*, admit that Observation among them. To speak nothing of his folly in saying, that the *Brittains* received the Faith from the *Irish*: when the contrary is so well known, that the *Irish* rather received the same from the * *Brittains*.

* St. Patrick and his Followers.

That the common Custom of celebrating the time of *Easter* was not always observed by the *Southern Irish*, may appear by those words of *Bede*, in the *Third* Book of his History and the *Third* Chapter. *Porrò gentes Scottorum, quæ in australibus Hiberniæ insulæ partibus morabantur, jamdudum ad admonitionem Apostolicæ sedis ministris Paschæ canonico ritu observare didicerunt.* For if (as this place clearly proveth) *the Nations of the Scots, that dwelt in the Southern parts of Ireland, did learn to observe* Easter *after the Canonical Manner, upon the Admonition of the Bishop of Rome*: it is evident, that before that Admonition they did observe it after another manner. The word *jamdudum*, which *Bede* here useth, is taken among Authors oftentimes in contrary senses: either to signifie *a great while since*, or else, *but lately*, or *erewhile*. In the former sense it must be here taken, if it have relation to the time wherein *Bede* did write his Book: and in the latter also it may be taken, if it be referred to the time whereof he treateth, (which is the more likely opinion) namely to the coming of Bishop *Aidan* into *England*; which fell out about half a year after that *Honorius* had sent his Admonitory Letters to the *Irish*. Who, as he was the first Bishop of *Rome* we can read of, that Admonished them to reform their Rite of keeping the time of *Easter*; so that the *Irish* also, much about the same time, conformed themselves herein to the *Romane* usage, may thus be manifested.

When

When Bishop *Aidan* came into *England* from the Island *Hy*, now called *Y-Colum-kille*; f the College of Monks there was governed by *Segenius*, who in the g Inscription of the Epistle of the Clergy of *Rome* sent unto the *Irish*, is called *Segianus*. Now there is yet extant in Sir *Robert Cottons* worthy Library, an Epistle of *Cummianus* directed to this *Segienus* (for so is his name there written) Abbot of *Y-Colum-kille*: wherein he plainly declareth, that the great Cycle of DXXXII. Years, and the *Romane* use of celebrating the time of *Easter* according to the same, was then newly brought in into this Country. h *For the first year* (saith he) *wherein the Cycle of* DXXXII. *Years began to be observed by our men; I received it not, but held my peace, deeming neither to commend it, nor to dispraise it.* That year being past, he saith he consulted with his Ancients; who were the Successors of *Bishop Ailbeus*, *Queranus Colomensis*, *Brendinus*, *Necessanus* and *Lugidus*. Who being gathered together in *Campo-lene*, concluded to celebrate *Easter* the Year following, together with the universal Church. i *But not long after* (saith he) *there arose up a certain whited Wall, pretending to keep the Tradition of the Elders; which did not make both one, but divided them, and made void in part that which was promised: whom the Lord (as I hope) will smite, in whatsoever manner he pleaseth.*

f *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 5.*
g *Id. lib. 2. cap. 19.*
h Ego enim primo anno quo cyclus DXXXII. annorum à nostris celebrari orsus est, non suscepi, sed silui nec laudare nec vituperare ausus. *Cummian. epist. ad Segienum.*
i Sed non post multum surrexit quidam parles dealbatus, traditionem seniorem servare se simulans; qui utraque non fecit unum, sed divisit, & irritum ex parte fecit quod promissum est: quem Dominus ut spero, percutiet quoquo modo voluerit. *Ibid.*

To this Argument drawn from *the Tradition of the Elders*, he maketh answer: that k *they did simply and faithfully observe that which they knew to be best in their days, without the fault of any Contradiction or Animosity, and did so recommend it to their posterity.* And opposeth thereunto n *the unanimous Rule of the Universal Catholick Church*: deeming this to be a very harsh Conclusion. o Rome *erreth*, Jerusalem *erreth*, Alexandria *erreth*, Antioch *erreth*, *the whole world erreth*: *the* Scottish *only and the* Brittains *do alone hold the right.* But especially he urgeth the Authority of the first of these *Patriarchal* Sees, which now (since the Advancement thereof by the Emperour *Phocas*) began to be admired by the

k Seniores verò, quos in velamine repulsionis habetis, quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt simpliciter & fideliter sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis observaverunt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. *Ibid.* n Universalis Ecclesiæ Catholicæ unanimem regulam. *Ibid.* o Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat; soli tantùm Scoti & Britones rectum saplunt. *Ibid.*

Inha

Inhabitants of the Earth, as the place which God hath chosen; wherewith, if great causes did arise, recourse was to be had, according to the Synodical Decree, as unto the head of Cities. And therefore he saith, that they sent some unto *Rome*: who returning back in the third Year, informed them, that they met there with a *Grecian*, and an *Hebrew*, and a *Scythian*, and an *Ægyptian* in one lodging; and that they all, and the whole world too, did keep their *Easter* at the same time, when the *Irish* were dis-joyned from them by the space of a whole * Month. p *And we have proved* (saith *Cummianus*) *that the vertue of God was in the Relicks of the holy Martyrs, and the Scriptures which they brought with them. For we saw with our Eyes, a maid altogether blind opening her Eyes in these Relicks, and a man sick of the Palsie walking, and many Devils cast out.* Thus far he.

* *This seemeth to have fallen out either in the Year 634. or 645. wherein Easter was solemnized at Rome the 24 day of April, the Year 624.*

and it appeareth by our Annals, that Segenius *was Abbot of* Y-Columkille *from until* 552.

p Vidimus oculis nostris puellam cæcam omnino ad reliquias oculos aperientem, & paralyticum ambulantem, & multa dæmonia ejecta. *Cummian.*

The *Northern Irish* and *Albanian Scottish* on the other side, made little reckoning of the Authority, either of the Bishop or of the Church of *Rome*. And therefore *Bede*, speaking of *Oswy* King of *Northumberland*, saith that q *notwithstanding he was brought up by the* Scottish, *yet he understood that the* Roman *was the Catholick and Apostolick Church* (or, *that the Roman Church was Catholick and Apostolick*) intimating thereby, that the *Scottish*, among whom he received his Education, were of another mind. And long before that, *Laurentius*, *Mellitus*, and *Justus* (who were sent into *England* by Pope *Gregory* to assist *Austin*) in a Letter which they sent unto the *Scots that did inhabit Ireland* (so *Bede* writeth) complained of the Distaste given unto them by their Countrymen, in this manner. r *We knew the* Brittains, *we thought that the* Scots *were better than they. But we learned by Bishop* Daganus *coming into this Island, and Abbot* Columbanus *coming into* France; *that the* Scots *did differ nothing from the* Brittains *in their Conversation. For* Daganus *the Bishop coming unto us, would not take meat with us, no not so much as in the same lodging wherein we did eat.*

q Intellexerat enim veraciter Oswi, quamvis educatus à Scotis, quia Romana esset Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 29.*

r Sed cognoscentes Britones, Scottos meliores putavimus. Scottos verò per Daganum Episcopum in hanc insulam, & Columbanum Abbatem in Galliis venientem, nihil discrepare à Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. Nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solùm cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur, sumere voluit. *Laurent. epist. apud Bed. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

And as for *Miracles*, we find them as rife among them that were oppoſite to the *Romane* Tradition, as upon the other ſide. If you doubt it, read what *Bede* hath written of Biſhop *Aidan* (*who of what Merit he was, the inward Judge hath taught, even by the tokens of Miracles*, ſaith he) and *Adamnanus* of the life of St. *Colme* or *Columkille*. Whereupon Biſhop *Colman* in the Synod at *Strenſhal* frameth this Concluſion: [b] *Is it to be believed, that* Colme *our moſt reverend Father, and his Succeſſors, Men beloved of God, which obſerved* Eaſter *in the ſame manner that we do, did hold or do that which was contrary to the holy Scriptures? ſeeing there were very many among them, to whoſe heavenly Holineſs the Signs and Miracles which they did, bare teſtimony: whom nothing doubting to be Saints, I deſiſt not to follow evermore their Life, Manners, and Diſcipline.* What *Wilfride* replied to this, may be ſeen in *Bede*: That which I much wonder at, among the many wonderful things related of St. *Colme* by *Adamnanus*, is this, that where he ſaith, that this Saint, during the time of his abode in the Abbey of *Clone* (now called *Clonmacnoſe*) did [c] *by the Revelation of the holy Ghoſt Propheſie of that Diſcord, which after many days aroſe among the Churches of* Scotland (or Ireland) *for the diverſity of the Feaſt of Eaſter*; yet he telleth us not, that the holy Ghoſt revealed unto him, that he himſelf (whoſe example animated his followers to ſtand more ſtifly herein againſt the *Romane* Rite) was in the wrong, and ought to conform his Judgment to the Tradition of the Churches abroad; as if the holy Ghoſt did not much care, whether of both ſides ſhould carry the matter away in this Controverſie: for which (if you pleaſe) you ſhall hear a very pretty Tale out of an old Legend, concerning this ſame Diſcord, whereof St. *Colme* is ſaid to have propheſied.

[f] Qui cujus meriti fuerit, etiam miraculorum ſignis internus arbiter edocuit. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 15. & 16, & 17.*

[g] Nunquid reverendiſſimum patrem noſtrum Columbam, & Succeſſores ejus, viros Deo dilectos, qui eodem modo Paſcha fecerunt, divinis paginis contraria ſapuiſſe vel egiſſe credendum eſt? cùm plurimi fuerint in eis, quorum ſanctitati cœleſti ſigna & virtutem quæ fecerunt miraculi, teſtimonium præbuerunt? quos ut ipſe ſanctos eſſe non dubitans ſemper eorum vitam, mores & diſciplinam ſequi non deſiſto. *Colman. apud Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 25.*

[h] Revelante Spiritu Sancto prophetavit de illa quæ poſt dies multos ob diverſitatem Paſchalis feſti orta eſt inter Scotiæ Eccleſias diſcordia. *Adamnan. Vit. Columb. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

[x] Quodam tempore erat magnum Concilium populorum Hiberniæ in Campo albo: inter quos erat contendo circa ordinem Paſchæ; Lafreanus etiam abbas monaſterii Leighlinæ, cui ſuberant mille quingenti monachi, novum ordinem defendebat qui nuper de Roma venit; alii verò veterem defendebant. *Vit. S. Manni abbatis M.S.*

[x] *Upon a certain time* (ſaith my Author) *there was a great Council of the people of* Ireland *in the white field: among whom there*

was

was Contention about the Order of Easter. For Lasreanus the Abbot of the monastery of Leighlin, unto whom there were subject a thousand and five hundred Monks, defended the new Order that lately came from Rome: but others defended the old. This *Lasreanus* or *Laserianus* is the man, who in other Legends (of no other Credit than this we now have in hand) is reported to have been the Bishop of *Romes* Legate in *Ireland*; and is commonly accounted to have been the first Bishop of the Church of *Leighlin*. His principal Antagonist at this meeting was one *Munna*, Founder of the Monastery which from him was called *Teach munna*, that is, the house of *Munna* (in the Bishoprick of *Meath*:) who would needs bring this question to the same kind of trial here, that *Austin* the Monk is said to have done in *England*. In defence of the *Roman* Order, *Bede* telleth us that *Austin* made this motion to the *British* Bishops, for a final Conclusion of the business. y *Let us beseech God, which maketh men to dwell of one mind together in their father's house; that he will vouchsafe by some heavenly Signs to make known unto us, what Tradition is to be followed, and by what way we may hasten to the entry of his Kingdom. Let some sick man be brought hither; and by whose Prayers he shall be cured, let his Faith and working be believed to be acceptable unto God, and to be followed by all men.*

y Obsecremus Deum, qui habitare facit unanimes in domo patris sui, ut ipse nobis insinuare cœlestibus signis dignetur, quæ sequenda traditio, quibus ex viis ad ingressum regni illius properandum. Adducatur aliquis æger; & per cujus preces fuerit curatus, hujus fides & operatio Deo devota sequenda credatur; *Bed. lib. 2. hist. cap. 2.*

Now *Munna*, who stood in defence of the Order formerly used by the *British* and *Irish*, maketh a more liberal Proffer in this kind, and leaveth *Lasreanus* to his choice. z *Let us dispute briefly* (saith he) *but in the name of God let us give Judgment. Three things are given to thy choice*, Lasreanus. *Two Books shall be cast into the fire, Book of the old Order and of the new, that we may see which of them shall escape untouched of the fire. Or let two of us, one of mine and another of thine, be shut up into one house; and let the house be burnt, and we shall see which of them will escape untouched of the fire. Or let us go into the Grave of a just Monk dead, and raised up again; and let him tell us, after what*

z Breviter disputemus; sed in nomine Domini agamus judicium. Tres optiones dantur tibi, Lasreane. Duo libri in ignem mittentur, liber veteris ordinis

si novi non illæsus, quis eorum de igne liberabitur. Vel duo monachi, unus meus alter tuus, in domum ignis includantur, si domus combusta: & videbimus, quis ex illa evadat incultus (ignis ut cadens in capillum nostrum nocuit, sic nihil) & relucebimus eum; & indicet nobis, quo ordine deberemus hoc anno Pascha celebrare. *Vit. S. Mund.*

Order we ought to celebrate Easter this year. But *Lastreanus* being wiser than to refuse to put so great a matter to that hazard, and therefore returned this grave Answer unto *Mumma*, if all be true that is in the Legend, [a] *We will not go into thy Judgment; because we know, that for the greatness of thy Labour and Holiness, if thou shouldest bid that mount Marge should be changed into the Place of the White-field, and the White-field into the place of Mount Marge, God would presently do this for thy sake.* So prodigal do some make God to be of Miracles, and unmannerly careless how they should fall: as if in the dispensing of them he did respect the gracing of Person rather than of Cause.

[a] Non ibimus ad judicium tuum, quoniam scimus quòd, pro magnitudine laboris tui & sanctitatis, si diceres ut mons Marge commutaretur in locum Campi albi & Campus albus in locum montis Marge, hoc propter te Deus facium faceret. *Ibid.*

In what year this Council of the *White-field* was held, is not certainly known: nor yet whether St. *Mumma* be that *whited Wall*, of whom we heard *Cummianus* complain. The Synod of *Strenshal* (before mentioned) was assembled long after, at *Whitby* (called by the Saxons *Streanshealh*) in *Yorkshire*, the [b] year of our Lord DCLXIV. For the decision of the same question. Concerning which, in the life of *Wilfrid* (written by one *Eddius* an acquaintance of his, surnamed *Stephen*, at the commandment of *Acca*, who in the time of *Bede* was Bishop of *Hagustald* or *Hexam*, in *Northumberland*) we read thus. [c] *Upon a certain time in the days of Colman, Metropolitan Bishop of the City of York, Oiwi, and Alhfrid, his Son being Kings; the Abbots and Priests and all the degrees of Ecclesiastical Orders meeting together, at the Monastery which is called Streanlheal, in the presence*

[b] Bede lib. 3 hist. cap. 25.

[c] Quodam tempore in diebus Colmani Eboracæ civitatis Episcopi metropolitani, regnantibus Oiwi & Alhfridi filio ejus, Abbates & Presbyteri omnesque Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ gradus simul in unum convenerant, in cœnobio quæ Streanshealch dicitur, præsente sapientissimæ matre piissimâ Hilde, præsentibus quoque Regibus ac duobus Colmanno & Agilberhto Episcopis, de Paschalis ratione conquirebant, quid esset rectissimum, utrum nostræ Britonum an Scottorum quinquesque Apulonalis pascha à XIIII. Lunâ Dominicâ diem celebrare nos ad XXII. (leg. XX.) Pascha agendum, an melius sit ratione Sedis Apostolicæ, à XV. Lunâ usq; XXI. Paschalem Dominicam celebrandam. Tempus datum est Colmanno Episcopo primum, ut dignum erat, audientibus cunctis ad dicere rationem. Ille autem intrepidâ mente respondens, dixit: Patres nostri & Antecessores consummanifestè spiritu sancto inspirati, ut erat Columcille, XIV. Lunâ die Dominicâ Pascha celebrandum fuisse ; exemplum tenentes Johannis Apostoli in Evangelista, qui supra pectus Domini in Cœna recubuit, & amator Domini dicebatur. Ille autem Lunâ Paschæ celebravit : sic nos fecit discipuli ejus Polycarpus & alii, celebramus, nec hoc audemus non facere (sic. partibus) nostris, nec volumus mutare. *Stephanus presbyter, Cæci & Addæ apud Bedam, lib. 4. hist. cap. 4.) in Vitâ Wilfrid. cap. 10. M. S. in Bibliotheca Sarisburiensi Ecclesiæ, & D. Roberti Cottoni.*

of

of Hilde *the most godly Mother of that Abbey, in presence also of the Kings and the two Bishops* Colman *and* Ægelberht, *inquiry was made touching the Observation of* Easter, *what was most right to be held: whether* Easter *should be kept according to the Custom of the* Brittains *and the* Scots, *and all the Northern part, upon the Lords day, that came from the* XIV. *day of the Moon until the* XX. *or whether it were better, that* Easter *Sunday should be celebrated from the* XV. *day of the Moon until the* XXI. *after the manner of the Sea Apostolick. Time was given unto Bishop* Colman *in the first place, as it was fit, to deliver his Reason in the Audience of all. Who with an undaunted mind made his Answer, and said; Our Fathers and their Predecessors, who were manifestly inspired by the Holy Ghost, as* Columkille *was, did ordain that* Easter *should be celebrated upon the Lords day that fell upon the* XIV. *Moon; following the Example of* John *the Apostle and Evangelist, who leaned upon the Breast of our Lord at his last Supper, and was called the Lover of the Lord. He celebrated* Easter *upon the* XIV. *day of the Moon: and we with the same Confidence celebrate the same, as his Disciples* Polycarpus *and others did; neither dare we for our parts, neither will we change this.*

Bede relateth his speech thus? d *This* Easter *which I use to observe, I received from my Elders, who did send me Bishop hither: which all our Fathers, Men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated after the same manner. Which that it may not seem unto any to be contemned and rejected: it is the same which the blessed Evangelist* John, *the Disciple specially beloved by our Lord, with all the Churches which he did oversee, is read to have celebrated. Fridegodus* (who wrote the life of *Wilfrid* at the command of *Odo* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) expresseth the same in Verse, after this manner.

d Pascha hoc quod agere soleo, à majoribus meis accepi, qui me huc Episcopum miserunt: quod omnes patres nostri viri Deo dilecti eodem modo celebrâsse noscuntur. Quod ne cui contemnendum & reprobandum esse videatur: ipsum est quod beatus Johannes Evangelista, discipulus specialiter Domino dilectus, cum omnibus quibus præerat Ecclesiis, celebrâsse legitur. *Colman. apud Bedam, lib. 3. hist. cap. 25.*

e *Nos seriem patriam, non frivola scripta tenemus,*
Discipulo * *Eusebii* Polycarpo, *dante* Johannis.
Ille etenim bis septena sub tempore Phœbæ
Sanctum præfixit nobis fore Pascha colendum,
Atque nefas dixit, si quis contraria sensit.

e *Fridegod. Vit. wilfrid. M.S. in Bibliothec. Cottonian.*

* *i. Sancti vel Beati.*

On the contrary side *Wilf.* objected unto *Col.* and his Clerks of *Ireland*; that they with their Complices, the *Picts* and the *Brittains*,

f out-

f Cum quibus de duabus ultimis Oceani insulis, his non totis contra totum Orbem stulto labore pugnant. *Wilfrid. apud Bed. lib. 3 c. 25.*

f *out of the two utmost Isles, and those not whole neither, did with a foolish labour fight against the whole world.* g *And if that* Columb *of yours* (saith he) *yea and ours also if he were Christs, was holy and powerful in Vertues: could he be preferred before the most blessed Prince of the Apostles? unto whom the Lord said: Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* Which last words wrought much upon the simplicity of King *Osny*; who feared, that h *when he should come to the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven, there would be none to open, if he were displeased who was proved to keep the keys*: but prevailed nothing with Bishop *Colman*; who i *for the fear of his Country* (as *Stephen* in the life of *Wilfrid* writeth) *contemned the Tonsure and the Observation of Easter* used by the *Romans*; *and* k *taking with him such as would follow him, that is to say, such as would not receive the Catholick Easter, and the Tonsure of the Crown* (for of that *also there was then no small question*) *returned back again into* Scotland.

g Et si sanctus erat aut potens virtutibus ille Columba vester, imo & noster si Christi erat: num præferri potuit beatissimo Apostolorum principi cui Dominus ait: Tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, & portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam; Et tibi dabo Claves regni Cœlorum. *Ibid.* h Ne forte me adveniente ad fores regni cœlorum, non sit qui reserat, everso illo qui claves tenere probatur. *Ibid.* i Tonsuram & Paschæ rationem propter timorem patriæ suæ contempsit. *Steph. Presbyter. in Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 10.* k Colman videns spretam suam doctrinam, sectamque esse despectam; assumpsit his qui se sequi voluerant, id est, qui Paschæ catholicum & tonsuram coronæ (nam & de hoc quæstio non minima erat) recipere solebant, in Scotiam regressus est. *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 26. Videatur lib. 4. cap. 4.*

CHAP. X.

Of the height that the Opposition betwixt the Roman *Party and that of the* Brittish *and* Scottish *grew unto; and the abatement thereof in time: and how the Doctors of the* Scottish *and* Irish *side, have been accounted most Eminent Men in the Catholick Church, notwithstanding their disunion from the Bishop of* Rome.

IN *Colmans* Room *Wilfrid* was chosen Archbishop of *York*: who had learned at *Rome* from Arch-deacon *Boniface*, a *the course of*

a Paschalem rationem, quam schismatici Britanniæ & Hiberniæ non cognoverunt; nec alias quidem Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ regulas Bonifacius archidiaconus quasi parvulo filio suo diligenter docuit. *Stephanus in vit. Wilf. c. 5. Sic & Bed. l. 5. c. 20.*

Easter,

Eaſter, *which the Schiſmaticks of* Brittain *and* Ireland *did not know* (ſo go the words of *Stephen*, the ancient Writer of his Life:) and afterwards did brag, [b] *that he was the Firſt which did teach the true* Eaſter *in* Northumberland (*having caſt out the* Scots) *which did ordain the Eccleſiaſtical Songs to be parted on ſides, and which did command St.* Benet's *Rule to be obſerved by Monks.* But when he was named to the Archbiſhoprick, [c] he refuſed it at the firſt (as *William* of *Malmesbury* relateth) *leſt he ſhould receive his Conſecration from the* Scottiſh *Biſhops, or from ſuch as the* Scots *had ordained, whoſe Communion the Apoſtolick See had rejected.* The Speech which he uſed to this purpoſe, unto the Kings that had choſen him, is thus laid down by *Stephen* the Writer of his Life. [d] *O my honourable Lords the Kings; it is neceſſary for us by all means providently to conſider, how with your Election I may (by the help of God) come to the Degree of a Biſhop, without the Accuſation of Catholick Men. For there be many Biſhops here in* Brittain, *none of whom it is my part to accuſe, ordained within theſe fourteen Years by the* Brittains *and* Scots, *whom neither the See Apoſtolick hath received into her Communion, nor yet ſuch as conſent with the Schiſmaticks. And therefore in my Humility I requeſt of you, that you would ſend me with your Warrant beyond the Sea, into the Country of* France, *where many Catholick Biſhops are to be had; that without any Controverſie of the Apoſtolick See I may be counted meet, though unworthy, to receive the Degree of a Biſhop.*

[b] Se primum fuiſſe, qui verum Paſcha in Northanimbriâ Scotis ejectis docuerit, qui cantus Eccleſiaſticos antiphonatim inſtituerit, qui ſanctiſſimi Benedicti regulam à monachis obſervari juſſerit. *Gulielm. Malmesbur. lib. 3. de geſt. Pontific. Angl.*

[c] Sed perſtitit ille negare; ne ab Epiſcopis Scottis, vel ab iis quos Scotti ordinaverunt, conſecrationem ſuſciperet, quorum communionem ſedes aſpernaretur Apoſtolica. *Id. ibid.*

[d] O Domini venerabiles Reges; omnibus modis nobis neceſſarium eſt providè conſiderare, quomodo cum electione veſtra, ſine accuſatione catholicorum virorum, ad gradum Epiſcopalem cum Dei adjutorio venire valeam. Sunt enim hic in Britanniâ multi Epiſcopi, quorum nullum meum eſt accuſare, quamvis veraciter ſciam, quòd aut quatuordecim annis ſunt, ut Britones & Scotti ab illis ſunt ordinati, quos nec Apoſtolica ſedes in communionem recepit, neque eos qui ſchiſmaticis conſentiunt. Et ideò in mea humilitate à vobis poſco, ut me mittatis cum veſtro præſidio trans mare ad Galliarum regionem, ubi catholici Epiſcopi multi habentur: ut ſine controverſiâ Apoſtolicæ ſedis, licèt indignus, gradum Epiſcopalem merear accipere. *Steph. Priub. Vit. Wilfrid. cap.* 12.

While [e] *Wilfrid* protracted time beyond the Seas, King *Oſwy* led by the Advice of the *Quartadecimans* (ſo they injuriouſly nick-named the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh*, that did celebrate *Eaſter* from

[e] Quo ultra mare moras nectente Oſwius Rex, præventus concilii Quartadecimanorum (qui vocabantur ita, quia Paſcha in quartadecima Lunâ cum Judæis celebrabant) Ceddam virum ſanctiſſimum, tamen contra regulas, intrusit tribunali Eboracenſi. *Gulielm. Malmsb. lib. 3. de geſt. Pontif. Angl.*

the

Ordinantes ſervum Dei religioſiſſimum & admirabilem Doctorem, de Hiberniâ inſulâ venientem nomine Cœodda, adhuc eo ignorante, in ſedem Epiſcopalem Eboracæ civitatis indoctè contra canones conſtituerunt. *Steph. presb. Vit. Wilfrid. cap. 14.*

the *fourteenth* to the *twentieth* day of the Moon) appointed *the moſt religious Servant of God, and an admirable Doctor, that came from Ireland*, named *Ceadda*, to be ordained Biſhop of *York*, in his room.

Conſtituunt etenim perverſo canone Ceaddam,
Moribus acclinem, doctrinæ robore fortem,
Præſulis eximii ſervare cubilia: ſicque
Audacter vivo ſponſam rapuere marito.

faith *Fridegodus*. This *Ceadda*, being the Scholar of Biſhop *Aidan*, was far otherwiſe affected to the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* than *Wilfrid* was: and therefore was content to receive his Ordination from g *Wini* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, and two other *Britiſh* Biſhops that were of the *Quartadecimian* Party. For at that time (as *Bede* noteth) *there was not in all* Brittain *any Biſhop canonically ordained* (that is to ſay, by ſuch as were of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*) except that *Wini* only.

g Ab illo eſt conſecratus antiſtes, aſſumptis in ſolemnem ordinationis duobus de Britonum gente Epiſcopis, qui Dominicum Paſchæ diem ſecus morem canonicum à XIV. uſque ad XXI. Lunam celebrant. Non enim erat tunc ullus, excepto illo Wini, in tota Britannia canonicè ordinatus Epiſcopus. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap. 28.*

h Cum illis autem qui ab unitate catholicæ pacis, vel Paſcha non ſuo tempore celebrando, vel perverſè vivendo aberrant, vobis ſit nulla communio, &c. *Id. in Vit. Cuthbert. cap. 39.*

But ſhortly after, the Oppoſition betwixt theſe two ſides grew to be ſo great, that our *Cuthbert* (Biſhop of *Lindisfarne*) upon his Death-bed required his followers; that they ſhould h *hold no Communion with them which did ſwerve from the Unity of the Catholick Peace, either by not celebrating* Eaſter *in his due time, or by living perverſly*: and that they ſhould rather take up his Bones and remove their place of habitation, than any way condeſcend to *ſubmit their necks unto the yoke of Schiſmaticks*. For the further maintaining of which Breach alſo, there were certain Decrees made both by the *Romans*, and by the *Saxons* that were guided by their Inſtitution. One of the Inſtructions that the *Romans* gave them, was this: i *You muſt beware, that cauſes be not*

i Inſtitutio dicit. Rom. Cavendum eſt ne ad alias provincias aut eccleſias referantur cauſæ quæ alio more & alia religione utuntur; ſive ad Judæos, qui umbræ legis magis quàm veritati deſerviunt; aut Britones, qui omnibus contrarii ſunt, & à Romano more & ab unitate Eccleſiæ ſe abſciderunt; aut Hæreticos, quamvis ſint in Eccleſiaſticis cauſis docti, & ſtudioſi fuerint. *Ex Cod. Canonum Cotton. titulorum 66.*

refor-

reſerved to other Provinces or Churches, which uſe another Manner and another Religion: whether to the Jews, *which do ſerve the ſhadow of the Law rather than the Truth; or to the* Brittains, *who are contrary unto all men, and have cut themſelves off from the Roman Manner, and the Unity of the Church; or to Hereticks, although they ſhould be learned in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and well ſtudied.* And among the *Decrees* made by ſome of the *Saxon* Biſhops (which were to be ſeen in the Library of Sir *Thomas Knevet* in *Norfolk*, and are ſtill, I ſuppoſe, preſerved there by his Heir) this is laid down for one. k *Such as have received Ordination from the Biſhops of the* Scots *or* Brittains, *who in the matter of* Eaſter *and Tonſure are not united unto the Catholick Church, let them be again by Impoſition of hands confirmed by a Catholick Biſhop. In like manner alſo let the Churches that have been ordered by thoſe Biſhops be ſprinkled with exorciſed Water, and confirmed with ſome Service. We have no Licenſe alſo to give unto them Chriſm or the Euchariſt, when they require it; unleſs they do firſt profeſs, that they will remain with us in the Unity of the Church. And ſuch likewiſe as either of their Nation, or of any other, ſhall doubt of their Baptiſm, let them be baptized.* Thus did they.

k Qui ordinati ſunt à Scotorum vel Brittannorum Epiſcopis, qui in Paſcha vel Tonſura Catholicæ non ſunt adunati Eccleſiæ; iterùm à Catholico Epiſcopo manus impoſitione confirmentur. Similiter & Eccleſiæ quæ ab illis Epiſcopis ordinantur, aquâ exorcizatâ aſpergantur, & aliquâ collectione confirmentur. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poſcentibus Chriſmam vel Euchariſtiam dare, ni antè confeſſi fuerint velle ſe nobiſcum eſſe in unitate Eccleſiæ. Et qui ex horum ſimiliter gente, vel quacunque, de baptiſmo ſuo dubitaverint, baptizentur. *Decret. Pontific. M. S. cap.* 9. De communicatione Scottorum & Brittonum, qui in Paſchâ & Tonſurâ catholici non ſunt.

On the other ſide, how averſe the *Britiſh* and the *Iriſh* were from having any Communion with thoſe of the *Romane* Party, the l complaint of *Laurentius*, *Mellitus*, and *Juſtus* before ſpecified, doth ſufficiently manifeſt. And the Anſwer is well known, which * *the ſeven* Brittiſh *Biſhops, and many other moſt learned Men* of the ſame Nation, did return unto the Propoſitions made unto them by *Auſtin* the Monk (who was ſent unto their parts with Authority from *Rome*:) that m *they would perform none of them, nor at all admit him for their Archbiſhop.* The Welſh

l *Bed. lib.* 2. *hiſt. cap.* 4.

* Septem Britonum Epiſcopi, & plures viri doctiſſimi, maximè de nobiliſſimo eorum monaſterio, quod vocatur linguâ Anglorum Bancornaburg, cui Dinoot abbas præfuiſſe narratur. *Bed. lib.* 2. *hiſt. cap.* 2. m Illi nihil horum ſe facturos, neque illum pro Archiepiſcopo habituros eſſe reſpondebant. *Id. ibid.* Tam ipſum quàm ejus ſtatuta, ſtatim reverſi ſpreverunt: nec ipſum pro Archiepiſcopo ſe habituros publicè proclamabant. *Giral. Cambrenſ. Itinerar. Cambriæ, lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.

Chroniclers do further relate, that *Dinot* the Abbot of *Bangor* produced divers Arguments at that time, to shew that they did owe him no Subjection; and this among others: [n] *We are under the Government of the Bishop of* Kaer-leon *upon* Usk, *who under God is to oversee us, and cause us to keep the way spiritual.* And *Gotcelinus Bertinianus* in the Life of *Austin*: [o] that for the *Authority of their Ceremonies* they did alledge, *that they were not only delivered unto them by St.* Eleutherius *the Pope, their first Instructer at the first Infancy almost of the Church; but also hitherto observed by their holy Fathers, who were the friends of God and Followers of the Apostles*; and therefore *they ought not to change them for any new Dogmatists.* But above all others, the *British* Priests that dwelt in *West-Wales* abhorred the Communion of these *new Dogmatists* above all measure: as *Aldhelme* Abbot of *Malmesbury* declareth at large, in his Epistle sent to *Geruntius* King of *Cornwall.* Where among many other Particulars he sheweth, that [p] if any of the *Catholicks* (for so he calleth those of his own side) did go to dwell among them; *they would not vouchsafe to admit them unto their Company and Society, before they first put them to forty days Penance.* Yea ¶ *even to this day* (saith *Beda*, who wrote his History in the Year DCCXXXI.) *it is the manner of the* Brittains, *to hold the Faith and the Religion of the* English *in no account at all, nor to communicate with them in any thing more than with Pagans.*

n *In a Welsh Manuscript, sometime belonging unto* P. Mostein *Gentleman.*

o Auctorizabant suas ceremonias non solùm à sancto Eleutherio Papâ primo institutore suo ab ipsâ penè infantiâ Ecclesiæ dicatas, verùm à sanctis patribus suis Dei amicis & Apostolorum sequacibus hactenùs observatas; quas non deberent mutare propter novos dogmatistas. *Gotselin. monachus, in vitâ Augustini, cap.* 32. *M.* S. *in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*

p Si quilibet de nostris, id est, Catholicis ad eos habitandi gratiâ perrexerint; non priùs ad consortium fodalitatis suæ admittere dignantur, quàm quadraginta dierum spatia in pœnitendo peragere compellantur. *Aldhelm. epist. ad Dumnonios.*

¶ Quippe cum usque hodie moris sit Britonum, eadem religionemque Anglorum pro nihilo habere, neque in aliquo eis magis communicare quàm paganis. *Bed. lib.* 2. *hist. cap.* 20.

Whereunto those Verses of *Taliessin* (honoured by the *Britains* with the Title of *Ben Beirdd*, that is, *the chief of the Bards* or *Wise-men*) may be added: (which shew, that he wrote after the coming of *Austin* into *England*, and not 50. or 60. Years before, as others have imagined.)

Gwae'r offeiriad byd
Nys engraifftia gwyd
Ac ny phregetha:

Chronicle of Wales, pag. 234.

Gwae

Gwae ny cheidw ey gail
Ac eſ yn vigail,
Ac nys areilia:
Gwae ny cheidw ey dheuaid
Rhac bleidhie, Rhuſeniaid
A'iſſon gnwppa.

Wo be to that Prieſt yborn,
That will not cleanly weed his Corn
And preach his Charge among:
Wo be to that Shepherd (I ſay)
That will not watch his fold alway,
As to his Office doth belong:
Wo be to him that doth not keep
From Romiſh *wolves his Sheep,*
With Staff and Weapon ſtrong.

As alſo thoſe others of *Mantuan*; which ſhew that ſome took the boldneſs to tax the *Romans* of *Folly*, *Impudency*, and *Stolidity*, for ſtanding ſo much upon matters of humane Inſtitution; that for the not admitting of them they would break Peace there, where the Law of God, and the Doctrine firſt delivered by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, was ſafely kept and maintained.

r *Adde quòd & patres auſi taxare Latinos*;
Cauſabantur eos ſtultè imprudenter, & æquo
Durius, ad ritum Romæ *voluiſſe* Brittannos
Cogere & antiquam tam præcipitanter amorem
Tam ſtolidò temerâſſe auſu. Concedere Romæ
Debuit, aiebant, potiùs quàm rumpere pacem
Humani quæ juris erant; modò ſalva maneret
Lex divina, fides, Chriſti doctrina, Senatus
Quam primus tulit ore ſuo; quia tradita ab ipſo
Chriſto erat, humana doctore & lumine vita.

r *Baptiſt. Mantuan. Faſtor. lib.* 1.

By all that hath been ſaid, the vanity of *Oſullevan* may be ſeen, who feigneth the *Northern Iriſh*, together with the *Picts* and *Britains*, to have been ſo obſequious unto the Biſhop of *Rome*; that they reformed the Celebration of *Eaſter* by them formerly

uſed, as ſoon as they underſtood what the Rite of the *Romane* Church was. Whereas it is known, that after the Declaration thereof made by Pope *Honorius* and the Clergy of *Rome*; the *Northern Iriſh* were nothing moved therewith, but continued ſtill their own Tradition. And therefore *Bede* findeth no other excuſe for Biſhop *Aidan* herein; but that [f] *either he was ignorant of the Canonical Time, or if he knew it, that he was ſo overcome with the Authority of his own Nation, that he did not follow it*: that he did it, [t] *after the manner of his own Nation*; and that [u] *he could not keep* Eaſter *contrary to the Cuſtom of them which had ſent him.* His Succeſſor *Finan* [x] contended more fiercely in the buſineſs with *Ronan* his Country-man; and declared himſelf *an open Adverſary* to the *Roman* Rite. *Colman* that ſucceeded him, did tread juſt in his ſteps: ſo far, that being put down in the Synod of *Streanſheal*, yet *for fear of his Country* (as before we have heard out of *Stephen*, the Writer of the life of *Wilfrid*) he refuſed to conform himſelf; and choſe rather to forgo his Biſhoprick, than to ſubmit himſelf unto the *Romane* Laws.

f Quòd autem Paſcha non ſuo tempore obſervabat vel canonicum ejus tempus ignorans, vel ſuæ genitis auctoritate, ne aliquid ſi quæretur, devictus; non approbo nec laudo. *Bed. lib. 3. hiſt. cap.* 17.

t More ſuæ gentis. *Ibid. cap.* 3. u Paſcha contra morem eorum qui ipſum miſerant facere non potuit. *Ibid. cap.* 25. x *Id. ibid.*

Colmannuſque ſuus ingloriùs abjicit arces,
Malens Auſonias victus diſſolvere leges:

Saith *Fridegodus*. Neither did he go away alone: but y took with him all his Countrymen that he had gathered together in *Lindisfarne* or *Holy Iſland*: the *Scotiſh* Monks alſo that were at *Rippon* (in *Yorkſhire*) z making choice rather to quit their place, than to admit the Obſervation of *Eaſter* and the reſt of the Rites, according to the Cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*. And ſo did the matter reſt among the *Iriſh* about *forty* years after that: until their own Country-man a *Adamnanus* perſwaded moſt of them, to yield to the Cuſtom received herein by all the Churches abroad.

y Colmannus qui de Scotiâ erat Epiſcopus, relinquens Britanniam, tulit ſecum omnes quos in Lindisfarnorum inſulâ congregaverat Scotos. *Bedæ lib. 4. cap.* 4.

z Optione datâ, maluerunt loco cedere, quàm Paſchia catholicum, cæteroſque ritus canonicos juxta Romanæ & Apoſtolicæ Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem recipere. *Id. lib.* 5. *cap.* 20. *See alſo lib.* 3. *cap.* 25. *where* Hiumpum *is miſ-printed for* Hripum. a *Ibid. cap.* 16. & 22.

The *Picts* did the like not long after, under King *Naitan*: who

who b *by his regal Authority commanded* Easter *to be observed throughout all his Provinces according to the Cycle of* XIX. *Years* (*abolishing the erroneous period of* LXXXIV. *Years* which before they used) and caused *all Priests and Monks to be shorn crown-wise* after the *Romane* Manner. The Monks also of the Island of *Hy* or *Y-Columkille*, c by the perswasion of *Ecgbert* (an *English* Priest, that had been bred in *Ireland*) in the year of our Lord DCCXVI. forsook the Observation of *Easter* and the *Tonsure* which they had received from *Columkille*, a hundred and fifty years before, and followed the *Romane* Rite; about LXXX. Years after the time of Pope *Honorius*, and the sending of Bishop *Aidan* from thence into *England*. The *Brittains* in the time of d *Bede* retained still their old usage: until e *Elbodus* (who was the Chief Bishop of *North-Wales*, and died in the Year of our Lord DCCCIX. as *Caradock* of *Lhancarvan* recordeth) brought in the *Romane* Observation of *Easter*; which is the cause, why f his Disciple *Nennius*, designeth the time wherein he wrote his History, by the Character of the g XIX. years Cycle, and not of the other of LXXXIV. But howsoever *North-Wales* did; it is very probable that *West-Wales* (which of all other parts was most eagerly bent against the Traditions of the *Romane* Church) stood out yet longer. For we find in the *Greek* Writers of the Life of *Chrysostom*, *that certain Clergy-men which dwelt in the Isles of the Ocean*, repaired *from the utmost Borders* of the habitable World unto *Constantinople*, in the days of *Methodius* (who was Patriarch there, from the year DCCCXLII. to the year DCCCXLVII.) to enquire of h *certain Ecclesiastical Traditions, and the perfect and exact computation of Easter*. Whereby it appeareth, that these questions were kept still a-foot in these Islands; and that the Resolution of the Bishop of *Constantinople* was sought for from hence, as well as the Determination of the Bishop of *Rome*, who is now made the only Oracle of the World.

b Nec mora, quæ dixerat, regiâ autoritate perfecit. Statim namque jussu publico mittebantur ad transcribendum, discendum, observandum per universas Pictorum provincias circuli Paschæ decennovennales; obliteratis per omnia erroneis octoginta & quatuor annorum circulis. Attondebantur omnes in coronam ministri altaris ac monachi, &c. *Ibid. cap.* 22.

c *Id. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. & *lib.* 5. *cap.* 23.

d *Id. lib.* 5. *cap.* 23. & 24.

e *See the Chronicle of* Wales, *pag.* 17, 18. *and Humfr. Lhuyd, fragment. Britan. Descript. fol.* 55. *b.*

f Ego Nennius sancti Elbodi discipulus, aliqua excerpta scribere curavi. *Nenn. M. S. in publicâ Cantabrig. Academ. Bibliothecâ, ubi alia exemplaria habent*: *Ego* Nennius (*vel* Ninnius) Elvodugi discipulus.

g Ab adventu Patricii in jam dictam insulam (*Hiberniam sc.*), usque ad cyclum decennovennalem in quo sumus, 22. sunt cycli, id est, 421. & sunt duo anni in Ogdoade usque in hunc annum. *Id.*

h Ἕνεκα τινῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν παραδόσεων, τελείας τὸ τοῦ πάσχαλίου καὶ ἀκριβοῦς καταλήψεως. Tom. 8. Chrysost. edit. Henr. Savil. pag. 321. 6. & in Notis, col. 966. 5.

Nei-

Neither is it here to be omitted, that whatsoever Broyls did pass betwixt our *Irish* that were not subject to the See of *Rome*, and those others that were of the *Roman* Communion: in the succeeding Ages, they of the one side were esteemed to be *Saints*, as well as they of the other; *Aidan* for Example, and *Finan*, who were counted Ring-leaders of the *Quartadeciman* Party, as well as *Wilfrid* and *Cuthbert*, who were so violent against it. Yet now a-days men are made to believe, that out of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, nothing but Hell can be looked for; and that subjection to the Bishop of *Rome*, as to the visible Head of the Universal Church, is required as a matter necessary to Salvation. Which if it may go current for good Divinity: the case is like to go hard, not only with the i *twelve hundred* Brittish Monks of *Bangor*, who were martyred in one day by *Edelfride* King of *Northumberland* (whom our *Annals* style by the name of k *the Saints*;) but also with St. *Aidan* and St. *Finan*, who deserve to be honoured by the *English* Nation with as venerable a Remembrance, as (I do not say, *Wilfrid* and *Cuthbert*; but) *Austin* the Monk and his Followers. For by the Ministery of l *Aidan* was the Kingdom of *Northumberland* recovered from Paganism: (whereunto belonged then, beside the Shire of *Northumberland* and the Lands beyond it unto *Edenburrow*, *Frith*, *Cumberland* also and *Westmoreland*, *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, and the *Bishoprick of Durham*:) and by the means of m *Finan*, not only the Kingdom of the *East-Saxons* (which contained *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and half of *Hertfordshire*) regained, but also the large Kingdom of *Mercia* converted first unto Christianity; which comprehended under it, *Glocestershire*, *Herefordshire*, *Worcestershire*, *Warwickshire*, *Leicestershire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Lincolnshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Staffordshire*, *Derbyshire*, *Shropshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Cheshire*, and the other half of *Hertfordshire*.

The *Scottish* that professed no Subjection to the Church of *Rome*, were they that sent Preachers for the Conversion of these Countries; and ordained Bishops to govern them: namely n *Aidan*, *Finan* and *Colman* successively for the Kingdom of *Northumberland*; o for the *East-Saxons*, *Cedd*, Brother to *Ceadda* the Bishop of *York* before-mentioned; p for the *Middle-Angles* (which inhabited *Leicestershire*) and the *Mercians*, *Diuma* (for q *the paucity of Priests*, saith *Bede*, *constrained one Bishop to be appointed over two people*) and after him *Cellach* and *Trumhere*. And these with their Followers, notwithstanding their division from the

i *Bed. lib. 2. hist. cap. 2.*
k Ann. Dom. 612. (*vel* 613.) Bellum Cairdegion, ubi Sancti occisi sunt. *Annal. Ulton. MS.*
l *Bed. lib. 3. hist. cap. 3. & 6.*
m *Ibid. cap.* 21, 22, 24.
n *Ibid. cap.* 3, 5, 17, 25, 26.
o *Ibid. cap.* 22, 23.
p *Ibid. cap.* 21, 24.
q Paucitas enim Sacerdotum cogebat unum antistitem duobus populis præsici. *Ib. cap.* 21.

the See of *Rome*, were for [r] their extraordinary Sanctity of Life and Painfulnes in preaching the Gospel (wherein they went far beyond those of the other side, that afterward thrust them out and entred in upon their Labours) exceedingly reverenced by all that knew them: *Aidan* especially who [s] *although he could not keep Easter* (saith *Bede*) *contrary to the manner of them which had sent him: yet he was careful diligently to perform the works of Faith and Godliness, and Love, according to the manner used by all holy Men. Whereupon he was worthily beloved of all, even of them also who thought otherwise of* Easter *than he did: and was had in Reverence not only by them that were of meaner Rank, but also by the Bishops themselves,* Honorius *of* Canterbury, *and* Felix *of the East-Angles.* Neither did *Honorius* and *Felix* any other way carry themselves herein, than their Predecessors *Laurentius*, *Mellitus* and *Justus* had done before them: who writing unto the Bishops of *Ireland*, that dissented from the Church of *Rome* in the Celebration of *Easter*, and many other things; made no scruple to prefix this loving and respectful Superscription to their Letters. [t] *To our Lords and most dear Brethren the Bishops or Abbots throughout all* Scotland; Laurentius, Mellitus *and* Justus *Bishops, the servants of the servants of God.* For howsoever *Ireland* at that time [u] received not the same *Laws* wherewith *other Nations* were governed: yet it so *flourished in the vigour of Christian Doctrine* (as Abbot *Jonas* testifieth) that *it exceeded the Faith of all the neighbour Nations*; and in that respect was generally had in honour by them.

[r] *Ibid. cap.* 3. 4. 5. 17. 26.

[s] Etsi Paschæ contra morem eorum qui ipsum miserant, facere non potuit; opera tamen fidei, pietatis & dilectionis, juxta morem omnibus sanctis consuetum, diligenter exequi curavit. Unde ab omnibus etiam his qui de Paschæ aliter sentiebant, meritò diligebatur: nec solùm à mediocribus, verùm ab ipsis quoque Episcopis, Honorio Cantuariorum & Felice Orientalium Anglorum, veneratione habitus est. *Ibid. cap.* 25. [t] Dominis charissimis fratribus Episcopis vel Abbatibus per universam Scotiam; Laurentius, Mellitus, & Justus Episcopi, servi servorum Dei. *Id. lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. [u] Gens quamquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus; tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem præpollet. *Jon. Vit. Columbch. cap.* 1.

CHAP. XI.

Of the temporal Power, which the Popes Followers would directly entitle him unto over the Kingdom of Ireland: *together with the indirect Power which he challengeth, in absolving Subjects from the Obedience which they owe to their temporal Governours.*

IT now remaineth that in the last place we should consider the Popes Power in disposing the *temporal* State of this Kingdom: which:

which either *directly* or *indirectly*, by hook or crook, this grand Usurper would draw unto himself. First therefore Cardinal *Allen* would have us to know, that [c] *the See Apostolick hath an old claim, unto the soveraignty of the Country of* Ireland, *and that before the Covenants passed between King* John *and the same See, Which Challenges* (saith he) *Princes commonly yield not up, by what ground soever they come.* What Princes use to yield or not yield, I leave to the scanning of those, unto whom Princes Matters do belong: for the Cardinals *Prince* I dare be bold to say, that if it be not his use to play fast and loose with other Princes, the matter is not now to do; whatsoever Right he could pretend to the *Temporal* State of *Ireland*, he hath transferred it (more than once) unto the Kings of *England*; and when the ground of his Claim shall be looked into, it will be found so frivolous and so ridiculous, that we need not care three Chips, whether he yield it up, or keep it to himself. For whatsoever become of his idle Challenges, the Crown of *England* hath otherwise obtained an undoubted Right unto the Sovereignty of this Country; partly by *Conquest*, prosecuted at first upon occasion of a Social War; partly by the several *Submissions* of the Chiefetains of the Land made afterwards. For [d] *whereas it is free for all men, although they have been formerly quit from all Subjection, to renounce their own Right: yet now in these our days* (saith *Giraldus Cambrensis*, in his History of the *Conquest of* Ireland) *all the Princes of* Ireland *did voluntarily submit, and bind themselves with firm Bonds of Faith and Oath, unto* Henry *the Second King of* England. The like might be said of the general Submissions made in the days of King *Richard* the *Second* and King *Henry* the *Eighth*: to speak nothing of the *Prescription* of divers hundreds of Years possession; which was the Plea that [e] *Jephthe* used to the *Ammonites*, and is indeed the best Evidence that the Bishop of *Rome's* own [f] Proctors do produce for their Masters Right to *Rome* it self.

[c] *Allen. Answer to the Execution of Justice in England. pag. 140.*

[d] Cùm juri suo renunciare liberum sit cuilibet (quamquam subjectionis cujuslibet hactenus immunes) his tamen nostris diebus, Anglorum Regi Henrico secundo omnes Hiberniæ principes firmis fidei sacramentique vinculis se sponte submiserunt. *Girald. Cambrens. Hibern. expugnat. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

[e] *Judg. 11. 26.* [f] *Genebrard. Chronograph. lib. 3. in Sylvest. 1. bellarmin. de Roman. Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 9. in fine.*

For the Popes direct Dominion over *Ireland*, two Titles are brought forth; beside those *Covenants of King John* (mentioned by *Allen*) which he that hath any understanding in our State, knoweth

knoweth to be clearly void and worth nothing. The one is taken from a ſpecial Grant, ſuppoſed to be made by the Inhabitants of the Countrey, at the time of their firſt Converſion unto Chriſtianity: the other from a Right which g the Pope challengeth unto himſelf over all Iſlands in general. The former of theſe was deviſed of late by an *Italian*, in the reign of King *Henry* the *Eighth*; the latter was found out in the days of King *Henry* the *Second*: before whoſe time not one footſtep doth appear in all Antiquity, of any Claim that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould make to the Dominion of *Ireland*; no not in the Popes own Records, which have been curiouſly ſearched by *Nicolaus Arragonius*, and other Miniſters of his, who have purpoſely written of the Particulars of his temporal Eſtate. The *Italian* of whom I ſpeak, is *Polydore Virgil*; he that compoſed the Book *De Inventoribus rerum*, of the firſt *Inventers of things*: among whom he himſelf may challenge a place for this Invention; if the *Inventers of Lyes* be admitted to have any room in that Company. This man being ſent over by the Pope into *England* h for the collecting of his *Peter-pence*, undertook the Writing of the Hiſtory of that Nation; wherein he forgat not by the way, to do the beſt ſervice he could to his Lord that had imployed him thither. There he telleth an idle Tale; how the *Iriſh* being moved to accept *Henry* the *Second* for their King, i *did deny that this could be done otherwiſe than by the Biſhop of* Rome's *Authority*: *becauſe* (forſooth) *that from the very beginning, after they had accepted Chriſtian Religion, they had yielded themſelves and all that they had into his power. And they did conſtantly affirm* (ſaith this Fabler) *that they had no other Lord, beſide the Pope: of which alſo they yet do brag.*

g Inſulas omnes ſibi ſpeciali quodam jure vendicat. *Giral. Cambr. Hibern. expug. nat. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7.

h Nos hanc olim quæſturam aliquot per annos geſſimus; ejuſque muneris obeundi cauſâ, primùm in Angliam venimus. *Polyd. Virgil. Anglic. hiſtor. lib.* 4.

i Id Hiberni poſſe fieri, niſi autoritate Romani Pontificis, negabant; quòd jam indè ab initio, poſt Chriſtianam religionem acceptam, ſeſe ac omnia ſua in ejus ditionem dedidiſſent: atque conſtanter affirmabant, non alium habere ſe Dominum, præter ipſum Pontificem; id quod etiam nunc jactitant. *Id. lib.* 13. *ejuſd. hiſtor.*

The *Italian* is followed herein by two *Engliſhmen*, that wiſhed the Popes Advancement as much as he; *Edmund Campian* and *Nicholas Sanders*. The one whereof writeth, that k *immediately after Chriſtianity was planted here, the whole Iſland with one Conſent gave themſelves not only into the ſpiritual, but alſo into the temporal Juriſdiction of the See of* Rome. The other in *Polydores* own

k *Camp. Hiſtory of* Ireland *lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.

words (though he name him not) that [l] *the* Iriſh *from the beginning, preſently after they had received the Chriſtian Religion gave up themſelves and all that they had, into the power of the Biſhop of* Rome; and that until the time of King *Henry* the *Second*, they did *acknowledge no other ſupreme Prince of* Ireland, *beſide the Biſhop of* Rome *alone*. For confutation of which Dream, we need not have recourſe to our own Chronicles: the Bull of *Adrian* the *Fourth*, wherein he giveth liberty to King *Henry* the *Second* to enter upon *Ireland*, ſufficiently dicovereth the vanity thereof. For, he there ſhewing what Right the Church of *Rome* pretended unto *Ireland*, maketh no mention at all of this (which had been the faireſt and cleareſt Title that could be alledged, if any ſuch had been then exiſtent *in rerum naturâ*) but is fain to flie unto a farfetcht Intereſt, which he ſaith the Church of *Rome* hath unto all Chriſtian Iſlands. [m] *Truly* (ſaith he to the King) *there is no doubt, but that all Iſlands unto which Chriſt the Son of Righteouſneſs hath ſhined, and which have received the inſtructions of the Chriſtian Faith, do pertain to the right of Saint* Peter, *and the holy Church of* Rome: *which your Nobleneſs alſo doth acknowledge.*

[l] Hiberni initio ſtatim poſt Chriſtianam religionem acceptam, ſe ſuaque omnia in Pontificis Romani ditionem dederant; nec quenquam alium ſupremum Hiberniæ Principem ad illud uſque tempus præter unum Romanum Pontificem agnoverunt. *Sander. de ſciſm. Anglicav. lib. 1. ad ann.* 1542.

[m] Sanè omnes Inſulas, quibus Sol juſtitiæ Chriſtus illuxit, & quæ documenta fidei Chriſtianæ ſuſceperunt, ad jus St. Petri & ſacroſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoſcit) non eſt dubium pertinere. *Bull. Adrian.* IV. *ad Henr. II. Angl. rtg.*

If you would further underſtand the ground of this ſtrange Claim, whereby all Chriſtian Iſlands at a clap are challenged to be parcel of St. *Peters* Patrimony: you ſhall have it from *Johannes Sariſburienſis*, who was moſt inward with Pope *Adrian*, and obtained from him this very Grant whereof now we are ſpeaking. [n] *At my requeſt* (ſaith he) *he granted* Ireland *to the illuſtrious King of* England, Henry *the Second, and gave it to be poſſeſſed by right of Inheritance: as his own Letters do teſtifie unto this day. For all Iſlands, of ancient Right, are ſaid to belong to the Church of* Rome, *by the Donation of* Conſtantine, *who founded and endowed the ſame.* But will you ſee, what a goodly Title here is, in the mean time? *Firſt*, the Donation of *Conſtantine* hath been long ſince diſcovered to be a notorious Forgery, and is re-

[n] Ad preces meas illuſtri Regi Anglorum Henrico ſecundo conceſſit & dedit Hiberniam jure hæreditario poſſidendam: ſicut literæ ipſius teſtantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes Inſulæ, de jure antiquo, ex donatione Conſtantini, qui eum fundavit & dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam Eccleſiam pertinere. *Johan. Sariſburienſ. Metalogic. lib. 4. cap. 42.*

jected

jected by all Men of Judgment as a senseless Fiction. *Secondly*, in the whole context of this forged *Donation* I find mention made of *Islands* in one place only: o where no more power is given to the Church of *Rome* over them, than in general over the whole Continent (by *East* and by *West*, by *North* and by *South*) and in particular over *Judæa*, *Gracia*, *Asia*, *Thracia*, and *Africa*; which use not to pass in the Account of St. *Peters* temporal Patrimony. *Thirdly*, it doth not appear, that *Constantine* himself had any interest in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: how then could he confer it upon another? Some words there be in an Oration of p *Eumenius* the Rhetorician, by which peradventure it may be collected, that his Father *Constantius* bare some stroke here: but that the Island was ever possessed by the *Romans*, or accounted a parcel of the *Empire*, cannot be proved by any sufficient Testimony of Antiquity. *Fourthly*, the late Writers that are of another mind, as *Pomponius Lætus*, *Cuspinian*, and others, do yet affirm withal, q that in the division of the Empire after *Constantines* death, *Ireland* was assigned unto *Constantinus* the eldest Son: which will hardly stand with this Donation of the Islands, supposed to be formerly made unto the Bishop of *Rome* and his Successors. Pope *Adrian* therefore, and *John* of *Salisbury* his Sollicitor, had need seek some better Warrant for the Title of *Ireland*, than the Donation of *Constantine*.

o Per nostram Imperialem jussionem sacram, tam in Oriente quàm in Occidente, vel etiam septentrionali & meridianâ plagâ, videlicet in *Judæâ*, *Græciâ*, *Asiâ*, *Thraciâ*, *Africâ* & *Italiâ*, vel diversis Insulis nostrâ largitate eis libertatem concessimus: eâ prorsus ratione, ut per manus beatissimi patris nostri Sylvestri Pontificis successorumque ejus omnia disponantur. *Edict. Constantin.*

p Ultra Oceanum verò quid erat præter Brittanniam? Quæ à vobis ita recuperata est; ut illæ quoque nationes terminis ejusdem insulæ cohærentes vestris nutibus obsequantur. *Eumen. Panegyric. ad Constant.*

q *Pomp. Læt. in Roman. histor. Compend. Jo. Cuspinian. in Cæsarib. Seb. Munster. in lib. 2. Cosmograph.*

John Harding in his Chronicle saith, that the Kings of *England* have right,

r *To* Ireland *also, by King* Henry (*le fitz*
Of Maude, *daughter of first King* Henry)
That conquered it, for their great Heresie.

r *Harding. Chronic. cap.* 241.

Which in another place he expresseth more at large in this manner:

s *The King* Henry *then, conquered all* Ireland
By Papal Doom, there of his Royalty,

s *Ibid. cap.* 132.

The Profits and Revennes of the Land
The Domination, and the Soveraignty.
For Error which again the Spirituelty
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of Hereſies, with which they were infect.

Philip *Oſullevan* on the other ſide, doth not only deny t that *Ireland* was infected with any *Hereſie*: but would alſo have us believe, u that the Pope never intended to confer the Lordſhip of *Ireland* upon the Kings of *England*. For where it is ſaid in Pope *Adrian's* Bull; x *Let the people of that Land receive thee, and reverence thee as a Lord*: the meaning thereof is, ſaith this Gloſſer, y Let them reverence thee, *as a Prince worthy of great Honour*; *not as Lord of* Ireland, *but as a Deputy appointed for the collecting of the Eccleſiaſtical Tributes*. It is true indeed that King *Henry* the *Second*, to the end he might the more eaſily obtain the Popes good Will for his entring upon *Ireland*, did voluntarily offer unto him *the payment of a yearly Penſion of one Penny out of every houſe* in the Countrey: which (for ought that I can learn) was the firſt *Eccleſiaſtical Tribute* that ever came unto the Popes Coffers out of *Ireland*. But that King *Henry* got nothing elſe by the bargain, but the bare Office of collecting the Popes-*Smoke-ſilver* (for ſo we called it here, when we paid it) is ſo dull a Conceit; that I do ſomewhat wonder, how *Oſullevan* himſelf could be ſuch a Block-head, as not to diſcern the Senſeleſſneſs of it.

What the King ſought for and obtained, is ſufficiently declared by them that writ the Hiſtory of his Reign. z In the Year of our Lord MCLV. the firſt Bull was ſent unto him by Pope *Adrian*: the ſum whereof is thus laid down in a ſecond Bull, directed unto him by *Alexander* the *Third*, the immediate Succeſſor of the other. a *Following the ſteps of reverend Pope* Adrian, *and attending the Fruit of your deſire; we ratifie and confirm his Grant*

t *Oſullevan. Hiſtor. Catholic. Iberniæ, tom. 2. lib. 1. cap. 7.*
u *Ibid. cap. 4, 5, 9. & lib. 2. c. 3.*
x Illius terræ populus te recipiat, & ſicut Dominum veneretur. *Bull. Adrian. IV.*
y Sicut Dominum veneretur, id eſt, ut Principem dignum magno honore; non Dominum Iberniæ, ſed præfectum causâ colligendi tributi Eccleſiaſtici. *Oſullevan. hiſt. Bern. fol. 59. b. in margine.*
z *Robert. de Monte. Roger. de wendover. Matth. Pariſ. & Nicol. Triſtt. in Chronic. ann. 1155.*
a Venerabilis Adriani Papæ veſtigiis inhærentes, veſtrique deſiderii fructum attendentes; conceſſionem ejuſdem ſuper Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (ſalvâ Beato Petro & ſacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ Romanæ, ſicut in *Angliâ*, ſic in *Hiberniâ*, de ſingulis domibus annuâ unius denarii penſione) ratam habemus & confirmamus. *Bul. Alexandri III. apud Giraldum Cambrenſ. lib. 2. Hiſtor. Hibern. expugnat. cap. 6. in Codicibus M. S. (in edito enim capit hoc mancum eſt.) & Jo. Roſ. ſum Warvicenſem, in tract. De terris Coronæ Angliæ annexis.*

concerning the Dominion of the KINGDOM *of* Ireland *conferred upon you: reserving unto St.* Peter *and the holy Church of* Rome, *as in* England, *so in* Ireland, *the yearly Pension of one penny out of every house.* In this sort did Pope *Adrian*, as much as lay in him, *give Ireland* unto King *Henry*, *hæreditario jure possidendam, to be possessed by right of Inheritance*; and withal b *sent unto him a Ring of Gold, set with a fair Emerald, for his Investiture in the right thereof*: as *Johannes Sarisburiensis*, who was the Principal Agent betwixt them both in this business, doth expresly testifie. After this, in the year MCLXXI. the King himself came hither in person: where the *Archbishops* and *Bishops* of *Ireland* c *received him for their* KING *and Lord.* The King (saith *John Brampton*) d *received Letters from every Archbishop and Bishop, with their Seals hanging upon them in the manner of an Indenture; confirming the* KINGDOM *of* Ireland *unto him and his Heirs, and bearing witness that they in* Ireland *had ordained him and his Heirs to be their* KINGS *and Lords for ever.* At *Waterford* (saith *Roger Hoveden*) e *All the Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots of* Ireland *came unto the King of* England, *and received him for* KING *and Lord of* Ireland; *swearing fealty to him and to his Heirs, and power to reign over them for ever: and hereof they gave him their Instruments. The Kings also and Princes of* Ireland, *by the example of the Clergy, did in like manner receive* Henry *King of* England *for Lord and* KING *of* Ireland; and became *his men* (or, *did him Homage*) *and swore fealty to him and his Heirs against all men.*

b Annulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret investitura juris in gerenda Hibernia: idemque adhuc annulus in curiali archio publico custodiri jussus est. *Jo. Sarisbur. Metalogic. lib. 4. cap. 42. de quo consulendus etiam est Giraldus Cambrens. lib. 2. Hibern. expugnat. cap. 6.*

c In Regem & Dominum receperunt. *Roger. Windover. & Matth. Paris. in historiâ majori, an.* 1171. *Roger Hoveden, in posteriore parte Annalium. Johan. Brampton in Historia Joralanensi, & Bartholomæus de Cotton. in Histor. Anglor. M. S.* d Recepit ab unoquoque Archiepiscopo & Episcopo literas, cum sigillis suis in modum Chartæ pendentibus; regnum Hiberniæ sibi & hæredibus suis confirmantes, & testimonium perhibentes ipsos in Hiberniâ eum & hæredes suos sibi in Reges & Dominos in perpetuum constituisse. *Jo. Brampton ibid.* e Venerunt ibidem ad Regem *Angliæ* omnes Archiepiscopi, Episcopi, Abbates totius Hiberniæ, & receperunt eum in Regem & Dominum Hiberniæ; jurantes ei & hæredibus suis fidelitatem, & regnandi super eos potestatem in perpetuum: & inde dederunt ei chartas suas. Exemplo autem clericorum, prædicti Reges & Principes Hiberniæ, receperunt simili modo Henricum Regem *Angliæ* in Dominum & Regem Hiberniæ; & homines sui devenerunt, & ei & hæredibus suis fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines. *Rog. Hoveden. ad ann.* 1171.

These things were presently after confirmed in the National Synod held at *Cashel*: the Acts whereof in *Giraldus Cambrensis* are

are thus concluded. f *For it is fit and most meet, that as* Ireland *by Gods Appointment hath gotten a Lord and a* KING *from* England; *so also they should from thence receive a better Form of living.* King *Henry* also at the same time g *sent a Transcript of the Instruments of all the Archbishops and Bishops of* Ireland, *unto Pope* Alexander: *who by his Apostolical Authority* (for so was it in those days of Darkness esteemed to be) *did confirm the* KINGDOM *of* Ireland *unto him and his Heirs, (according to the Form of the Instruments of the Archbishops and Bishops of* Ireland) h *and made them* KINGS *thereof for ever.* The King also i obtained further from Pope *Alexander, that it might be lawful for him to make which of his Sons he pleased,* KING *of* Ireland, *and to Crown him accordingly; and to subdue the Kings and great Ones of that Land, which would not subject themselves unto him.* Whereupon in a grand Council held at *Oxford* in the Year of our Lord MCLXXVII. k *before the Bishops and Peers of the Kingdom he constituted his Son* John KING *of* Ireland; l *according to that Grant and Confirmation of Pope* Alexander. And to make the matter yet more sure, in the Year MCLXXXVI. he obtained a new License from Pope *Urban the Third*, m *that one of his Sons, whom he himself would, should be crowned for the* KINGDOM *of* Ireland. And this the Pope did not only *confirm by his Bull*: but also the year following purposely sent over Cardinal *Octavian* and *Hugo de Nunant* (or *Novant*) n his Legates into *Ireland*, to Crown *John* the King's Son there.

f Dignum etenim & justissimum est, ut sicut Dominum & Regem ex *Angliâ* sortita est divinitùs Hibernia; sic etiam exinde vivendi forma in accipiant meliorem. *Girald. Cambrens. Hibern. Expugnat. lib. 1. cap. 34.*

g Rex *Angliæ* misit transcriptum Chartarum universorum Archiepiscoporum & Episcoporum Hiberniæ, ad Alexandrum Papam: & ipse authoritate Apostolicâ confirmavit illi & hæredibus suis regnum Hiberniæ, secundùm formam Chartarum Archiepiscoporum & Episcoporum Hiberniæ. *Rog. Hoveden.*

h Nam summus Pontifex regnum illud sibi & hæredibus suis auctoritate Apostolicâ confirmavit; & in perpetuum eos constituit inde Reges. *Jo. Brampton.*

i Perquisierat ab Alexandro summo Pontifice, quòd liceret ei filium suum, quem vellet Regem Hiberniæ facere, & similiter coronare; ac Reges & potentes ejusdem terræ, qui subjectionem ei facere nollent, debellare. *Id. ad ann. 1177.*

k Johannem filium suum coram Episcopis & regni sui principibus Regem Hiberniæ constituit. *Id. ibid. & Gualterus Oxoniensis, in eodem anni historiâ.*

l Constituit Johannem filium suum Regem in Hibernia, concessione & confirmatione Alexandri summi Pontificis. *Rog. Hoveden. Annal. part. 2. ad ann. 1177.*

m Ab eo impetravit, quòd unus quem vellet de filiis suis coronaretur de regno Hiberniæ, & hoc confirmavit ei Dominus Papa Bullâ suâ; & in argumentum voluntatis & confirmationis suæ, misit ei coronam de pennâ pavonis auro contextam. *Id. ad ann. 1184.*

n Quibus ipse commisit legatiam in Hiberniam, ad coronandum ibi Johannem filium Regis. Sed Dominus Rex coronationem illam distulit. *Id. ad an. 1187.*

By all this we may see, how far King *Henry* the *Second* proceeded in this Business: which I do not so much note, to convince

vince the Stolidity of *Oſullevan*, who would fain perſwade fools, that he was preferred only to be Collector of the Popes *Peter-pence*: as to ſhew, that *Ireland* was at that time eſteemed a *Kingdom*, and the Kings of *England* accounted no leſs than Kings thereof. And therefore * *Paul the Fourth* needed not make all that noiſe, and trouble ° *the whole Court of Heaven* with the matter: when in the Year MDLV. he took upon him by his *Apoſtolical Authority* (ſuch I am ſure, as none of the *Apoſtles* of *Chriſt* did ever aſſume unto themſelves) to erect *Ireland* unto the Title and Dignity of a *Kingdom*. Whereas he might have found, even in his own * *Roman Provincial*, that *Ireland* was reckoned among the *Kingdoms* of *Chriſtendom*, before he was born. Inſomuch, that in the Year MCCCCXVII. when the Legates of the King of *England* and the *French* King's Ambaſſadours fell at Variance in the Council of *Conſtance* for Precedency; the *Engliſh* Orators, among other Arguments, alledged this alſo for themſelves: p *It is well known, that according to* Albertus Magnus *and* Bartholomæus *in his Book* De Proprietatibus rerum, *the whole world being divided into three parts,* (*to wit,* Aſia, Africk *and* Europe) Europe *is divided into four Kingdoms: namely, the* Roman *for the firſt, the* Conſtantinopolitan *for the ſecond, the third the Kingdom of* Ireland, *which is now tranſlated unto the Engliſh, and the fourth the Kingdom of* Spain: *Whereby it appeareth, that the King of* England *and his Kingdom, are of the more Eminent, Ancient Kings and Kingdoms of all* Europe: *which Prerogative the Kingdom of* Francee *is not ſaid obtain.* And this have I here inſert-

* Paulus IIII. noſtris temporibus Hiberniam inſulam in regni titulum ac dignitatem erexit. *Gabutius in vitâ Pii V.*

° Ad omnipotentis Dei laudem & gloriam, ac glorioſiſſimæ ejus genetricis Virginis Mariæ, totiuſque Curiæ cœleſtis honorem, & fidei Catholicæ exaltationem, Philippo Rege & Mariâ Regina nobis ſuper hoc humiliter ſup-

plicantibus, de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio & Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, Apoſtolicâ authoritate Inſulam Hiberniæ in Regnum perpetuò erigimus; ac titulo, dignitate, honore, facultatibus, juribus, inſignis, prærogativis, anteactionibus, præeminentiis regiis, ac quibus alia Chriſti fidelium Regna utuntur, potiuntur, & gaudent, ac uti, potiri, & gaudere poterunt quomodo libet, in futurum inſignimus & decoramus. *Bulla Pauli IV. in Regiis Patentium, ann. 2. & 3. Philippi & Mariæ, in Caſtellarth Hiberniæ.* * *Provinciale in archivis Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ edit. tomo 2. Tractat. Doctor. fol. 344. (Impreſſ. Venet. an.* 1548.) p Satis conſtat, ſecundùm Albertum Magnum & Bartholomæum de proprietatibus rerum, quòd toto Mundo in tres partes diviſo (videlicet Aſiam, Africam, & Europam) Europa in quatuor dividitur regna: primum videlicet Romanum, ſecundum Conſtantinopolitanum, tertium regnum Hiberniæ quod jam tranſlatum eſt in Anglicos, & quartum regnum Hiſpaniæ. Ex quo patet, quòd Rex *Angliæ* & regnum ſuum fuit de eminentioribus antiquioribus Regibus & Regnis totius Europæ: quam prærogativam regnum *Francia* non fertur obtinere. *Act. Conſil. Conſtant. Seſſ.* 28. *M. S. in Bibliotheca Regiâ. See the Book in the Cottonian Library* Nero---*in this* Folio *collected by the Cardinal of* Arragon, *&c.*

ed the more willingly, because it maketh something for the Honour of my Country (to which, I confess, I am very much devoted) and in the printed Acts of the Council it is not commonly to be had.

But now cometh forth *Osullevan* again, and like a little Fury flyeth upon [q] the *English-Irish* Priests of his own Religion, which in the late Rebellion of the Earl of *Tirone*, did *not deny that bellish Doctrine, fetcht out of Hell for the Destruction of Catholicks, that it is lawful for Catholicks to bear Arms and fight for Heretick against Catholicks and their Country*; or rather (if you will have it in plainer terms) that it is lawful for them of the *Romish* Religion, to bear Arms and fight for their Sovereign and Fellow-subjects that are of another Profession, against those of their own Religion that traiterously rebel against their Prince and Country. And to shew, [r] *how mad and how venomous a Doctrine they did bring* (these be the Caitiffs own Terms) *that exhorted the Laity to follow the Queens side*: he setteth down the Censure of the Doctors of the University of *Salamanca* and *Valladolid*, published in the Year MDCIII. for the justification of that Rebellion, and the declaration of Pope *Clement* the *Eighth*'s Letters touching the same; wherein he signifieth that [s] *the* English *ought to be set upon no less than the Turks; and imparteth the same favours unto such as set upon them, that he doth unto such as fight against the Turks*. Such wholsome Directions doth the Bishop of *Rome* give unto those that will be ruled by him; far different (I wis) from that holy Doctrine, wherewith the Church of *Rome* was at first seasoned by the Apostles. [t] *Let every Soul be subject unto the higher Powers; for there is no power but of God*: was the Lesson that St. *Paul* taught to the ancient *Romans*. Where if it

q Cujus mali maxima culpa in aliquot Anglo-Ibernos Sacerdotes jure transferenda est; qui tartareum dogma ab Orco in Catholicorum perniciem emissum non negabant, licere Catholicis contra Catholicos & suæ patriam pro Hæreticis gerere arma & dimicare. *Philip. Osullevan. Hist. Catholic. Ibern. tom. 4. lib. 3. cap. 5. fol. 263 edit. Ulissipon. an. 1621.*

r Hæc est Academiarum censura; quâ liquidò constat, quam Ignorantiæ & Caligine erraverint illi Ibernl, qui in hoc bello Protestantibus operam tulerunt, & Catholicos oppugnarunt: quamque insanam & venenosam doctrinam attulerint nonnulli doctores vulgò habiti, qui seculares homines ad Regiæ partes sequendas exhortati, à fide nostrâ averterunt. *Id. tom. 3. lib. 8. cap. 7. fol. 204.*

s Cum [illegible] Pontifex dicat Anglos adversus Catholicorum Religionem pugnare, eosque non [illegible] Turcas oppugnari debere; tantòque gratiis eos oppugnantes prosequatur, quantò [illegible] Turcas pugnantes prosequitur: quis nobiles, bellum ab Anglis adversus exercitum [illegible] nisi Iniquum gerl? *Censur. Doct. Salamanic. & Vallisolet. de Hibernic. bello.*

be

be demanded; u *whether that Power also, which persecuteth the servants of God, impugneth the Faith, and subverteth Religion, be of God?* our Countryman *Sedulius* will teach us to answer with *Origen*; that *even such a Power as that, is given of God, for the Revenge of the Evil, and the Praise of the good.* Although he were as wicked, as either *Nero* among the *Romans*, or *Herod* among the *Jews*: the one whereof most cruelly persecuted the *Christians*, the other *Christ* himself.

u Quid, & illa potestas, quæ servos Dei persequitur, fidem impugnat, religionem subvertit, à Deo est? Ad quod respondendum,

quòd etiam talis potestas à Deo data est, ad vindictam quidem malorum, laudem verò bonorum. *Sedul. in Rom.* 13.

And yet when the one of them swayed the Scepter, St. *Paul* told the Christian *Romans*; that they x *must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake*: and of the causeless fear of the other, these Verses of *Sedulius* are solemnly sung in the Church of *Rome*, even unto this day.

x Rom. 13. 5.

y *Herodes hostis impie,*
Christum venire quid times?
Non eripit mortalia,
Qui regna dat cœlestia.

y *Sedul. in Hymno acrostich. de Vitâ Christi.*

Why, wicked Herod, dost thou fear,
And at Christ's coming frown?
The mortal he takes not away,
That gives the heavenly Crown.

A better Paraphrase whereof you cannot have, than this which *Claudius* hath inserted into his Collections upon St. *Matthew*. z *That King which is born, doth not come to overcome Kings by fighting, but so subdue them after a wonderful manner by al-*

z Rex iste qui natus est, non venit Reges pugnando superare; sed moriendo mirabiliter subjugare: neque ideò natus est ut tibi succedat, sed ut in eum mundus fideliter credat. Venit enim, non ut regnet vivus, sed ut triumphet occisus: nec tibi de aliis gentibus anxio cruciatum quærat; sed ut pro salvandis gentibus pretiosum sanguinem fundat. Insanire invidendo timuisti successorem, quem credendo debuisti quærere salvatorem: quia si in eum credideres, cum eo regnares; & sicut ab illo accepisti temporale regnum, acciperes etiam sempiternum. Hujus enim pueri regnum non est de hoc mundo; sed per ipsum regnatur in hoc mundo. Ipse est etiam Sapientia Dei, quæ dicit in Proverbiis: Per me Reges regnant. Puer iste Verbum Dei est, Puer iste Virtus & Sapientia Dei est. Si potes, contra Dei sapientiam cogita; in tuam perniciem versaris, & nescis. Tu enim regnum nullatenus habuisses, nisi ab isto Puero qui nunc natus est accepisses. *Claud. lib.* 1. *in Matth.*

ing: neither is he born to the end that he may ſucceed thee, but that the world may faithfully believe in him. For he is come, not that he may fight being alive, but that he may triumph being ſlain: nor that he may with gold get an Army unto himſelf out of other Nations, but that he may ſhed his precious Blood for the ſaving of the Nations. Vainly didſt thou by envying fear him to be thy Succeſſor, whom by believing thou oughteſt to ſeek as thy Saviour: becauſe if thou didſt believe in him, thou ſhouldſt reign with him; and as thou haſt received a temporal Kingdom from him, thou ſhouldſt alſo receive from him an everlaſting. For the Kingdom of this Child is not of this world, but by him it is that men do reign in this world. He is the Wiſdom of God, which ſaith in the Proverbs: By me Kings Reign. This Child is the Word of God: This Child is the Power and Wiſdom of God: If thou canſt think againſt the Wiſdom of God: thou workeſt thine own Deſtruction, and doſt not know it. For thou by no means ſhouldſt have had thy Kingdom, unleſs thou hadſt received it from that Child which now is born.

As for the Cenſure of the Doctors of *Salamanca* and *Valladolid*; our Nobility and Gentry, by the faithful Service which at that time they performed unto the Crown of *England*, did make a real Confutation of it. Of whoſe Fidelity in this kind I am ſo well perſwaded, that I do aſſure my ſelf, that neither the names of *Franciſcus Zumel* and *Alphonſus Curiel* (how great School-men ſoever they were) nor of the *Fathers of the Society* (*Johannes de Ziguenza*, *Emanuel de Roias*, and *Gaſpar de Mena*) nor of the *Pope* himſelf, upon whoſe Sentence they wholly ground their Reſolution; either then was, or hereafter will be, of any force to remove them one whit from the Allegiance and Duty which they do owe unto their King and Country. Nay I am in good hope, that their loyal Minds will ſo far diſtaſte that evil Leſſon, which thoſe great *Rabbies* of theirs would have them learn; that it will teach them to unlearn another bad Leſſon, wherewith they have been moſt miſerably deluded. For whereas heretofore a wiſe Men did learn to give Credence to the Truth, *by whoſoevers mouth it ſhould be delivered*: now men are made ſuch fools, that they are taught [b] *to attend in the Doctrine of Religion, not*

a Veritas ſapienti nitet, cujuſcunque ore prolata fuerit. *Gildas, in Cod. Canonum Cottonian. tit.* De veritate credenda, quocunque ore prolata fuerit. *Similiter Nennius, præfat. in Hiſtorian Brittonum* (*M. S. S. in publicâ Cantabrigienſi academiâ Bibliothecâ.*)

b Non quis dicat, aut qualiter dicatur, ſed quid dictum ſit, veritatis teſtimonio magis attendendum eſſe probatur. b In doctrina religionis non quid dicatur, ſed quis loquatur attendendum eſſe. *Thom. Stapleton. Defenſ. Eccleſiaſt. authoritat. lib. 3. cap. 7. & Demonſtrat. Principior. Doctrinal lib. 10. cap. 4.*

what

what the Thing is that is ſaid, but what the Perſon is that ſpeaketh it.

But how dangerous a thing it is, to have the Faith of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* in reſpect of Perſons; and to give entertainment to the Truth, not ſo much for it ſelf, as for the regard that is had to the Deliverer of it: I wiſh men would learn otherwiſe, than by woful Experience in themſelves. c *The Truth* (ſaith *Claudius*) *is to be loved for it ſelf, not for the Man, or for the Angel by whom it is preached. For he that doth love it in reſpect of the Preachers of it, may love lyes alſo, if they peradventure ſhall deliver any.* As here without all *peradventure*, the Pope and his Doctors have done: unleſs the teaching of flat Rebellion and high Treaſon, may paſs in the account of Catholick Verities. The Lord of his Mercy open their Eyes, that they may ſee the Light; and give them Grace to *receive the love of the Truth, that they may be ſaved.* The Lord likewiſe grant (if it be his bleſſed will) that *Truth* and *Peace* may meet together in our days, that we may be all gathered into d *one fold* under *one Shepherd*, and that e *the whole Earth may be filled with his Glory. Amen, Amen.*

c Veritas propter ſeipſam diligenda eſt, non propter hominem, aut propter Angelum, per quem adnunciatur. Qui enim propter adnunciatores eam diligit, poteſt & mendacia diligere, ſiqua fortè ipſi ſua protulerint. *Claud. in Galat.* 1.

d *Joh.* 10. 16.

e *Pſal.* 72. 19.

FINIS.

TO THE READER.

IN judging of the Religion of our Anceſtors, we are not to build our Concluſion upon every ſingle Propoſition, wherein they either agree with, or diſſent from us; but upon the main Bulk of the ſubſtantial Points of Doctrine which are controverted betwixt us at this day. Therefore the Adverſary muſt not imagin, that I intend here to make ſuch ſimple Collections as theſe. Such a man held ſuch a Point with us: Therefore he was a Proteſtant. *No more than I will allow him to frame the like.* Such a man was a Monk, or in ſuch or ſuch a Particular agreed with the now Church of *Rome*: Therefore he was a Papiſt. *And foraſmuch as for any one man we have not ſufficient Evidences left unto us, whereby it may appear what he held in every particular: the only way that now remaineth is, to joyn all of them together, with this preſumption, That what one man of note hath delivered, the contrary whereof is not to be found in others of his Country-men, who lived about the ſame time; that is to be ſuppoſed to have been the Doctrine, which was commonly received in thoſe Countries at that time.*

Hence it is, that I oftentimes chain together the Saying of divers Authors into one Context; and inſert alſo ſometime certain Sentences of theirs, which do not ſo much make for any Controverſie, as for the apt Connexion of the Points, and the Illuſtration of the preſent Head of Doctrine there treated of. And although my Principal Intention in this Diſcourſe, was to produce ſuch Evidences as might

might ſhew the agreement that was betwixt our Anceſtors and us in Matter of Religion, and to leave the Inſtances which might be alledged for the contrary to them, unto whom the maintaining of that Part did properly belong: yet I have upon occaſion touched upon that part alſo, and brought to light ſome things which I met withal in ſuch hidden Antiquities, as in all likelihood would not have come unto their notice, without my diſcovery.

The printed *Books which I cite, lye as open to them, as they have done to me; neither need they our help for the collecting of ſuch things out of them, as may ſeem to make for their purpoſe: I would we were half as careful for the maintenance of the Truth that way, as they every day ſhew themſelves to be, in not letting ſlip any manner of Advantage which may countenance their Superſtitions and Errors. As for the* Manuſcripts *which I uſe, they are partly known to ſome of them, partly notified in the marginal Quotations of the Treatiſe it ſelf: where the place is noted, in which they may be found. A great part whereof being gathered together in the rare Treaſury of that worthy Baronet Sir* Robert Cotton; *I thought it not amiſs to mark all ſuch with an Aſteriſk (*) in the following Catalogue: to the end, that if any of the other ſide will be pleaſed to look into theſe things, he may with more eaſe ſatisfie himſelf, by peruſing the chief of theſe Monuments brought thus together into one place; and ſo as well examine the Truth of my Allegations, as take up what he ſhall think meet for the Patronage of his own Cauſe. My Intention herein being to deal fairly, and not to deſire the concealing of any thing, that may tend to the true diſcovery of the State of former times; whether it may ſeem to make for me, or againſt me.*

A Catalogue of the Authors (cited in this Discourse) according to the times wherein they flouriſhed.

300. Evmenius Rhetor
317. Conſtantinus Magnus: *cui inepiſſima afficta eſt Donatio*
330. Euſebius
380. Amphilochius
400. Jo. Chryſoſtomus
410. Hieronymus
414. Pelagius & Celeſtius hæretici
420. Auguſtinus
433. Proſper Aquitanicus
440. * Patricius
448. Secundinus
450. Synodus Patricii, Auxilii & Iſſernini
490. Sedulius
494. Concilium Romanum ſub Gelaſio
530. Damaſcius
540. Gildas
* Cogitoſus
580. Venantius Fortunatus
592. Gregorius I.
600. Columbanus
610. Laurentius, Mellitus & Juſtus: *quorum epiſtola ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam.*
620. Taliefſinus Bardus
630. Gallus
634. Honorius I. *cujus epiſtola ad Hibernos pars habetur apud Bedam.*
639. Clerus Romanus: *cujus epiſtola ad Hibernos fragmentum habetur apud Bedam*
640. Jonas
650. * Cummianus
657. Author libri de Mirabilibus S. Scripturæ.
660. Hildephonſus Toletanus
664. Strenæhalchona Synodus: *cui interfuerunt* Colmannus & Wilfridus.
680. Theodorus Campidonenſis, vel quicunque author fuit Vitæ Magni ſive Magnoaldi
680. Author Vitæ Furſei
690. Adamnanus
690. Aldhelmus
700. * Collectio Canonum Eccleſiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ
720. * Stephanus Presbyter
730. * Author fragmenti de Eccleſiaſticorum Officiorum originibus
731. Beda
745. Bonifacius Moguntinus
749. Concilium Romanum II. ſub Zacharia P.
760. * Egbertus
795. Alcuinus
800. Egilwardus, vel quicunque author fuit vitæ Kilfani
815. Claudius Scotus
840. Walafridus Strabus

850. Anonymus author vitæ Chrysostomi
850. Johannes Erigena
858. * Nennius
860. Photius
885. Ælfredus Rex
890. Leo Imperator
893. Asser Menevensis
914. * Howelus Dha
950. * Fridegodus Probus Brito
1010. Calvus Perennis
1022. * Burgenses Dublin.
1022. * Henricus I. Rex Angliæ.
1074. * Lanfrancus
1080. * Gregorius VII.
1082. * Marianus Scotus
1085. * Johannes, Sulgeni filius
1090. Ricemarchus, filius ejusdem
1095. Anselmus
1100. Gille sive Gillebertus Lumnicensis Episc.
1110. * Gotcelinus Bertinianus
1123. Eadmerus
1125. Hildebertus Cenomanensis
1130. Liber Landavensis Ecclesiæ, vocatus *Tilo*
1140. Guilielmus Malmesburiensis
1150. Bernardus Claravallensis
1153. Henricus Saltereyensis
1155. Adrianus IV.
1156. Caradocus Lancarvanensis.
1158. Johannes Sarisburiensis
1175. Alexander III.
1180. Jocelinus Furnessi monachus
1185. * Giraldus Cambrensis
1204. Rogerus Hovedenus
1210. Robertus de Monte
1210. Innocentius III.
1216. Tuamensis Archiepisc. & Suffraganeorum rescriptum ad eundem
1222. Cæsarius Heisterbachensis monachus
1226. Gualterus Coventriensis
1235. * Rogerus de Wendover
1240. * Annalium Dublinensium fragmentum
1250. Matthæus Parisiensis
1281. * Johannes Brampton
1292. * Bartholomæus de Cotton
* Annales Melrosensis Cœnobii
1307. Nicolaus Trivetus
1347. Pembrigius, author prioris partis Annalium Hiberniæ à D. Camdeno editorum
1357. Richard, Armachanus
1366. * Johannes de Tinmouth, Anglicus vulgo dictus
1384. Guilielmus Andreæ, Midensis episcopus
1392. Concilium Stanfordiæ sub Guilielmo Cantuariensi
1417. Oratores Angli in Constantiensi Concilio
1427. * Thomas Caseus
1438. Marcus Ephesius
1[illegible]. Johannes Capgravius
1461. Johannes Hardingus
1480. Johannes Rossus
1490. Pomponius Lætus
1494. Baptista Mantuanus
1500. Jo. Cuspinianus
1533. Polydorus Virgilius

Thæ

To the Reader.

THat which concerneth the Popes Supremacy, and the Union of other Churches with the Church of Rome, I have here handled at large: because upon that only point the Romanists do hazard their whole Cause, a acknowledging the standing or falling of their Church absolutely to depend thereupon. I have somewhat also insisted upon the supream Power which the Kings of England have in the Temporal State of this Realm, and discovered the vanity of the Popes Claim unto it: the exercise of the Princes Power in Causes Ecclesiastical, I have touched but incidently; that being a question which requireth Explication rather than Demonstration. Wherein having been called by Authority (the very same time wherein I was making up this Treatise) to give satisfaction in a publick place of Justice unto such as pretended some scruple of Conscience that way: I thought good to annex that Declaration as a kind of a Supplement to this present discourse; together with his Majesties Royal Approbation of it. Which I have done, not for any vain Ostentation (although I have good cause to rejoyce in the Testimony and perpetual Memory of my dear Master) but to stop the mouth of Cavillers, who may perhaps object, that the King challengeth another manner of Authority than that which I ascribe unto him. Which no man will say, who knew King JAMES to have been, as the most learned and judicious Prince that ever sate upon this Throne, so the most jealous of his Prerogative Royal, and the most impatient of the least Diminution of the Rights and Preheminences united unto his Imperial Crown. VVhereby you may easily discern, that such as charge the taking that part of the Oath of Supremacy, which concerneth the Kings Authority in Causes Ecclesiastical, with loathsome and base Flattery, abominable and blasphemous Adulation, shameful Heresie and Untruth against nature (these be the flowers of Cardinal Allens Rhetorick) bewray themselves to be somewhat near of kin unto those false Teachers, that speak great swelling words of vanity: whose Characters St. b Peter, and St. c Jude have long since decyphered; that not only, one of their Presumption and Self-conceitedness, they are not afraid to speak evil of Dignities; but also after a brutish manner take the boldness to speak evil of those things which they understand not. From whose Seductions I beseech God deliver all his Majesties true-hearted Subjects.

a Etenim de quâ re agitur, cùm de primatu Pontificis agitur? brevissimè dicam de summâ rei Christianæ. Id enim quæritur, debeàtne Ecclesia diutiùs consistere, an verò dissolvi, & considere. *Bellarm. Præfat. in libros de Rom. Pontif.*

b 2 Peter 2. verse. 10, 12, 18.

c Jude vers. 8, 10.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY 1870 BRADSHAW COLL.

FINIS.